

AMERICAN SECONDARY EDUCATION

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PREFACE

This volume is offered as an introduction to the theory and practice of secondary education in a democratic society. Its major purpose is to orient the prospective teacher or other professional agent to the problems involved in providing educational opportunity to all young people. American secondary education is portrayed as the expanding effort of a democratic society to meet the educational needs of all its youth. Recent trends in American society and the nature and needs of American youth are recognized as the major determinants of the educational program. The interrelation of cultural traditions with current social and economic forces is given special consideration in interpreting the prevailing educational philosophy and practice.

The several chapters are arranged in a sequence beginning with society and the individual as the basis for whatever kind of education may be necessary. In the discussion of the program of secondary education the forces of tradition and the changing culture concept are emphasized as the background to the development of an individualized integrating program of race and personal experience. In view of the growing dissatisfaction with the existing personnel for secondary education, emphasis has been placed upon the need for a broader conception of personnel and personnel functions. In a similar manner the present institutional organizations are given less emphasis than is generally accorded to them and special emphasis is placed upon the need for new

types of agencies and for the greater recognition of the coordinating function of the secondary school. A final chapter is devoted to the administration of secondary education in the United States in which the existing machinery for expressing the will of the people is briefly described. It is recognized that the function of evaluating educational practice deserves more adequate treatment than it has been receiving in recent years and that the agencies responsible for the administration of secondary education should devise procedures for evaluating their practices and their product.

The author recognizes that his departure from the conventional approach may be interpreted as a depreciation of the importance of current practice; but in the light of recent trends in providing for the education and welfare of youth, it appears obvious that formal educational agencies, personnel, and procedures that have been adequate in dealing with a minority of youth selected in the past chiefly on the basis of abstract intelligence, are largely or wholly inadequate for a large minority, if not a majority, of all the youth who need education to the point of their induction into normal community life. The point of view maintained throughout this volume is that the American secondary school must rapidly assume the major responsibility for coordinating the efforts of a wide range of social agencies in the education of all the youth of the community.

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Philadelphia
June 1, 1937.

CHAPTER I

AMERICAN SOCIETY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Primitive Society. Human society expands like a plant sending out runners which every now and then send roots into the soil and from these new centers other runners in any direction open to invasion. As the more active groups of people found their habitats limiting their development, they pushed back their frontiers by planting new settlements. Over and over this process of expansion has been repeated from one center after another until there is no important habitable area of the earth's surface that has not been occupied, or is not at present being peopled, by some branch of the human race. In the early stages of racial development this process of community building was slow. Primitive man was not equipped with means of transportation, a knowledge of his environment, and a stock of supplies for subsistence during a long journey unless by chance he were fortunate enough to find supplies provided by nature or by other human beings. Moreover, primitive social groups have generally been hostile to other groups and have made travel outside the homeland hazardous both to the adventurous explorer and to the communities of settlers attempting to establish permanent homes.

Westward Movement in America. Social conventions, customs, mores, standards, and ideals, all represent human efforts to consolidate and con-

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serve gains made in the age-old process of subduing nature and controlling man's behavior in the use of nature's offerings for his own ends. Peopling the earth has been in process for many thousands of years, and with rare exceptions the movements of population have been westward. The "westward movement" in America represents merely a continuation of the movement of the human race across the face of the earth in its urge to explore and subdue the unknown. The westward movement in America has had a profound effect upon the development of the fundamental institutions in American society. The home, the church, the school, language, occupations, social life, transportation, government, in America all reflect the struggles of man during three centuries of pioneer life on a constantly changing frontier.

OUR SOCIAL HERITAGE

American Institutions. The racial stocks that have played dominant roles in human history have spread their influence through the planting of colonies. These centers of influence have served as nurseries for the perpetuation of existing institutions. American institutions represent the contribution chiefly of Northwestern Europe. The dominant characteristics of such institutions as the home, the church, the school, language, social conventions, political institutions, occupations, cultural institutions are those of the parent racial stocks. With few exceptions, the institutions transplanted in this country were English, and those that were not English were closely related to English by being Nordic in origin. The original institutions were as nearly as

possible reproductions of the existing institutions of the mother country.

Man has never created new institutions when old ones would serve. The various groups of colonists, therefore, brought with them those traditions, customs, languages, cultures, institutions, and ways of living that belonged to their parent societies. As the English gradually gained control of what is now the United States, the non-English institutions that had been established gradually died out. Only in a few isolated cases do the original national influences remain. Perhaps the best illustration of the persistence of national influence is found in the vestiges of French influence in Louisiana and the German influence in certain Pennsylvania communities. The importance of the home as a basic institution reflects the traditional English attitude. The church as a national institution had its beginnings in New England with the Puritan Church but never developed because of the characteristic independence of the several colonies. Because of radical differences in religious faith in the colonies, and because the colonies were a refuge for persecuted religious minorities, there was never possible any general agreement regarding a single state church. The legal and political institutions were largely of English origin. Schools were transplanted almost exactly as they existed in England with teachers and textbooks borrowed and adapted to the new environment. The culture was dominantly English with here and there the influence of German, Dutch, Swedish, French, and Spanish to provide interesting variety.

It was this borrowed social and economic tradition that provided the beginnings of institutional

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life in America; a new environment and activities motivated by a new world spirit, changed and revamped the institutional life to serve a frontier society. This process of change has been an essential factor in the evolution of America. A democratic

FIG. 1. White population by country of origin, 1920¹



society has been largely the outcome of social and economic change. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that a democratic society is emerging out of this tendency toward constant change.

Racial and Linguistic Influences in America. The American people are largely a mixed race, the constituent elements of which are peoples of Northwestern Europe. The dominance of the British or Anglo-Saxon group is quite clear from a study of Fig. 1. It is true that certain localities have a pre-

¹ Adapted from Thompson, W. S., and Whelpton, P. K.: *Population Trends in the United States*, p. 90 [Fig. 14].

dominance of other racial stock. Louisiana has a heavy strain of French and Spanish blood; Pennsylvania is noted for its German stock; New York has communities that still have a strong Dutch strain; the north North Central States have a large Scandinavian element; and the extreme southwestern area, chiefly Southern California, has a strong old Spanish influence.

These racial and linguistic influences have made a definite mark upon the customs, cultural interests, occupations, and other social and economic characteristics of the American population and American life. The past half-century has witnessed a decided shifting in the proportions of the older national groups because of the increase in Southern and Central European stocks. These latter elements have been drawn in to meet the needs of the industrial labor supply. They represent, on the whole, a lower type from the standpoint of cultural and economic background and are looked upon as a less desirable element of the population. They tend to congregate in large population centers and are more difficult to assimilate as members of American society. Recent immigration legislation and the new immigration policy that is gradually taking form tend to eliminate an excessive increase of these elements and to restore the ratios of the original national and linguistic groups. America apparently aims to continue as a Nordic group and to perpetuate the civilization of Northwestern Europe.

EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN SOCIETY

Frontier Society. When Columbus crossed the barriers of the last European and first American frontier—the Western Ocean—he set in motion a

long series of movements which resulted in the conquest of a continent. By successive stages the westward movement in America crossed the narrow tide-water region and the fertile lowlands and valleys of the Atlantic coastal plain. During this period the foundations of a nation were laid. With the close of the colonial period the eastern mountains had been crossed, and for a century wave upon wave of westward migration brought to a close the conquest of the American frontier. The forms of the institution were modified and adapted to the peculiar needs of a frontier society. In the very beginning the home was established in close proximity to other homes, and the traditional independence and privacy of English home life was surrendered in order that greater safety of the community might be assured. The established church had early lost its dominant position with the passing of the New England Puritan theocracy. The school, so long under the influence of the church, within the first century of colonial development experienced important modifications, dictated largely by the widely different needs for education in the new environment. Most other institutions, such as language, occupations, transportation, political and social agencies, were generally influenced by the environmental factors of the new world.

The American Spirit. As the population of the colonies increased and a new generation, indigenous to the American soil, battled with the forces of nature and the scattered Indian tribes, a new spirit developed and permeated the institutions that had been established. In New England and the Middle Colonies particularly, the concept of freedom of the individual took on a new meaning. The tendency

to reproduce an aristocracy, although prominent in all the colonies, could not long withstand the growing social philosophy based upon the rights of the common man. This new force which affected so profoundly the life and institutions of the new world may be characterized as the American spirit; to this may be attributed those characteristic differences that distinguish our institutions as American. The environment, both of nature and of social and economic factors, and the spirit born of freedom from the traditional old-world practices were the dominant influences in the rise of institutions in the new world.

DYNAMIC AMERICA

A New Nation. The disappearance of the western frontier in American life has signified the "coming of age" of America. A great nation has grown up and can no longer think only of its own domestic and internal affairs. It must assume its responsibilities among the powerful nations of the world. Moreover, it must of necessity take up in earnest the problems of general culture and its contribution to the general welfare not only of its own people but of other peoples as well. In short, America cannot be a great nation and at the same time maintain narrow, provincial patterns that were the products of a frontier society and of an agrarian civilization.

The independent life of this scattered population moving constantly westward stimulated the rugged individualism which American society has produced. During this agrarian period, in the more populous centers there was a tendency toward social stratification and the building of great family fortunes.

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The passing of the frontier in America marked the end of the old era. The twentieth century ushered in a nation that had come of age and was no longer to be ignored by the great world powers. To the wealth of the farm and the mine and the forest, the nation had added its industrial wealth, the product of a new civilization arising out of the older communities of the East, Middle West, and South. The English industrial revolution of the eighteenth century had come to its climax in America, where abundant natural resources and inventive genius combined to conquer the great world markets. Almost overnight this new world power became a great industrial and commercial center of the world.

A new culture differing from that of the old world has been the natural result of this development. From the beginning the economic and social ideals of America have been a protest against the stratified aristocratic ideals of the old world. Although the fundamental institutions of American society were of old-world origin, the American environment and the American spirit have modified these traditional institutions in a multitude of ways. America may not produce a fundamentally different culture, but it will no doubt play a strong role in the development of a great world culture which will grow out of the best contributions of the great culture groups.

The Community. The nature and size of the American community has a distinct influence upon the general social and economic life of the population. American civilization has produced a great variety of communities, ranging from the simple rural neighborhood, hamlet, village, and cities of vary-

ing sizes to great metropolitan communities. In spite of a constant increase in rural population, the shift of population from the rural to urban centers and the influx of immigrants have created in this country a number of great population centers with many satellite communities. This development has attained such proportions that in 1930 thirty per cent of the total population lived in cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants, as compared with three per cent a century ago. The change from a dominantly rural population to a dominantly urban population is portrayed by the trends of a century. The rural population constituted ninety per cent of the total population in 1830, while in 1930 it had decreased to less than forty-four per cent. The social and economic implications in this change are obvious. Within a century we have changed from a nation of farmers and herdsmen to a nation interested in commerce and industry.

The general efficiency of a people, both individually and socially, is largely the result of environmental influences, and perhaps the most important of the influences is that of occupation. The situation has been aggravated by the rapidly shifting character of the American population. The migration of millions of people of all ages and social and economic conditions from the open country life of the farm or of the small community to the congested urban commercial and industrial centers has suddenly multiplied the need for sanitary and health services. Poor housing, poor food, unsanitary habits of living, smoke, and the noises of the crowded city, never ending, are conditions constantly wearing down the physical resistance and undermining the general health of millions of the American pop-

ulation. These conditions are not only those of the inhabitants of the notorious slums of our great cities; they are conditions affecting all who choose to spend their lives in great cities. Recent years have witnessed a gradual disintegration of the population of some of the more congested population centers, brought about by an exodus to quiet suburban areas. Slum clearance and rebuilding on a large scale would further relieve the present unhealthful living conditions of millions who choose to remain or who are unable to gain a living apart from large population centers.

Occupational Life and Standards. Within less than a century, America has changed from a nation of independent farmers and relatively unskilled workers, relying upon their individual native ability, and their simple methods of production by hand, to a nation of shopkeepers and skilled wage earners forced to lead a planned existence because of the complexities of profit sharing and the wage scales of organized labor. The change from a simple agrarian society to a complex industrial social system has placed the great mass of workers in many types of occupations at the mercy of scientific invention and the great industrial machine. The depression of the past several years has revealed the dangers of the present system not only to the masses of wage earners, but to the captains of industry and business as well. Moreover, the interrelations of economic factors throughout the world have tended to multiply the hazards of any interruption to normal social and economic activity.

Perhaps the degree to which the people of a nation are gainfully employed reveals something of the dynamic spirit and conditions of the social and

economic order. There has been a constant increase in the proportion of the American population engaged in gainful occupations over the past half century. This increase is due partly to the falling birth rate and the resulting increase in the percentage of adults in the population and to an increase in the percentage of women entering gainful occupations. The causes underlying these changes are significant in that they reflect fundamental changes in occupational life and standards of living. These changes in occupational distribution of the American population are shown in a study of the primary activity distribution of the population from 1870 to 1930. This study reveals:

1. a decrease in children under five years of age, from one in seven to one in eleven of the population
2. a decrease in children aged five to fifteen not at school or at work, from one in ten to one in thirty of the total population
3. an increase in population in school from one in six to one in four and a half of the total population
4. an increase in population gainfully employed from less than one in three to one in two and a half of the population
5. a constant tendency for housewives to constitute about one-fifth of the total population.²

Occupational Groups. In addition to the increase in the percentage of the population gainfully occupied, the shifting distribution of this group is significant with respect to the general character of the population. Eight great occupational groups are represented in the population over sixteen years of

²President's Research Committee on Social Trends: *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, Vol. I, p. 274 [Table 1].

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age gainfully occupied. The significant changes in these groups during the past sixty years are:

1. Those engaged in agriculture and allied occupations have decreased from one in two to one in five.
2. Those occupied in manufacturing and mechanical trades have increased from one in four and a half to one in three and a half.
3. Those in trade and transportation have increased from one in eleven to one in five.
4. Those in clerical service have increased from one in sixty to one in twelve.
5. Those in domestic and personal service have increased from one in eleven to one in nine.
6. Those in professional service have increased from one in thirty-seven to one in fifteen.
7. Those in mining have increased from one in sixty-seven to one in fifty.
8. Those in public service and miscellaneous occupations have increased from one in one hundred and sixty-seven to one in seventy-one.³

It is clear that there has been an unusual increase in two fields of service: trade and transportation and clerical service. This development has been the outgrowth of the industrial development of the country. These significant changes indicate clearly the growing opportunities in specialized occupations and the demands for specialized education of the rising generations of wage earners. With the growth of the public service and the increase in scientific knowledge and its applications to the amelioration of human ills, great areas of occupational activity are opening up for the youth of special aptitudes. It

³ *Ibid.*, p. 284 [Table 7].

is apparent that specialized education will become even more necessary in the future than in the past. In spite of the unfortunate position in which millions of the population, preparing for specialized service, may find themselves because of changing conditions in social and economic life, the need for the specialist and for specialized education is increasing. American society is faced with the problem of caring for those who may be so unfortunate as to have their means of earning a living swept away by the onward march of science and invention. Programs of education will have an increasing responsibility for the reeducation of this group.

State and Church. Politics and religion have played dominant roles in American life since the early colonial period. In the early stages of colonial development, the common European tradition of a state religion seemed to find favor in the new world, but with the scattering of the population and the decline of the influence of the clergy, particularly in New England, there developed a pioneer type of frontiersman whose religion required adaptation to the new world environment. Moreover, America early became the haven of a great variety of dissenting groups none of which was strong enough to dominate all the others. With the "fall" of the New England theocracy, the only substantial state church in colonial America ceased to exist. Since that time there has developed strong opposition to any union of church and state. It is true that American politics has been strongly tinctured with Protestantism at times and that issues and movements antagonistic to Catholics and Jews are frequently in the forefront in local, state, and national campaigns; but on

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the whole there has been no formal recognition given to any religious group.

There has been a growing tendency for politics and business to ally themselves for or against certain policies. Without doubt the recent political tendencies in America have been highly favorable to a capitalistic economic order. The freedom granted individuals and small coteries to build up huge business and industrial enterprises apparently is justified by a peculiar interpretation of American democracy favorable to rugged individualism. The frequently recurring economic depressions, accompanied by widespread misery and suffering due to unemployment, probably justify the present increased participation of governmental agencies in the control of enterprises formerly considered a matter for private agencies alone to control. The dependence of the great masses of population upon these service agencies has aroused the citizen to a recognition of his personal responsibility for better regulation of them. There seems to be a revival of interest in political affairs and a recognition of the fact that the existing political organization, based upon the spoils system, cannot continue if American democracy is to survive. The burden of taxation can no longer be borne by the owners of tangible property, and with the increased pressure of taxes upon incomes and the useful commodities no citizen can afford to disregard his civic responsibilities. There is arising an increasing demand for efficient civil service for which educated workers are required.

The church and other religious organizations are recognizing the importance of social service and are developing closer relations with other community agencies concerned with this work. The church in

America cannot depend for its existence upon special privilege or favor from the state as is so frequently the case in foreign countries. Whether the so-called crime wave in America is due to the loss of influence of the church over its members is a debatable question. The need for emphasis upon spiritual values to offset the extreme emphasis upon pecuniary gain demands the attention of such agencies as the church if a proper balance in human behavior and human relations is to be maintained and strengthened.

Work and Leisure. From colonial days and until comparatively recently, America's chief concern has been earning a living. With the accumulation of great wealth on the part of some and the shortening of the hours of labor for millions of workers, the problem of using leisure wisely has become a matter of much concern. The demand for amusements has stimulated the commercialization of leisure in this country in every field of human interest. Outdoor sports have created a market for equipment, supplies, and facilities and have developed organizations for their promotion and control rivaling the great industrial activities. Millions of acres of historic sites and forest lands have been dedicated as local, state, and national parks. Seashore towns have developed overnight into cities for vacationists. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been invested in resorts and amusements to meet the demands of the American people for diversions and freedom from routine labor. The moving picture industry, the radio industry, and to some extent the automobile industry have built their great structures upon the American's craze for entertainment and the American's inability or unwillingness to participate con-

structively in the provision of his own entertainment. Mass production of leisure is just another big business in America. There is some indication, however, that young America is awakening to the superficiality of present-day leisure activities. Each year there are developing, in increasing numbers, community groups for the promotion of dramatics, music, sports, and civic and social activities.

Natural Resources. The social and economic character of a country is dependent to a large extent upon its natural resources. The use of such resources contributes in large measure to the fundamental character of the people. Perhaps no nation of modern times has exploited its resources so relentlessly and at times so wantonly as America has done. A comparison of the productive capacity of the American people with the people of other countries is obviously favorable to America because of its superior natural resources. The ease with which wealth could be extracted from the earth, or food could be produced from the fertile soil, has made America a nation of exploiters. The *laissez-faire* policy upon which our economic system has developed prevented the entry of government into the control of mines and forests. The government's policy in the distribution of lands made no provision for the maintenance of fertility of the soil. It was left for the twentieth century to initiate a policy of conservation of natural resources and reclamation of waste lands.

The ease with which America amassed huge economic assets made its people a spendthrift society. "Pork-barrel" legislation squandered great sums upon unnecessary public works, while necessary social and welfare services could not be provided.

Our cities are anomalies of massive structures for business activities and the highest forms of social life on the one hand, and on the other hand they are centers of thievery and congested slums breeding the lowest forms of social life imaginable in a civilized community. In spite of an enormous per capita wealth, at intervals, easily timed by the economist, millions of American citizens are allowed to suffer and die from hunger and cold for lack of means to distribute the hoarded wealth in banks and warehouses. Perhaps before it is too late, a solution may be found by which the wealth of the land may be conserved and used not only to ameliorate suffering but to place every willing worker and his dependents upon a standard of living that will promote happiness and well-being.

AMERICAN CULTURE AND IDEALS

Elements of Culture. The question is frequently raised as to what constitutes American culture. Any attempt to give an answer to this inquiry should be made with the realization that a distinct culture requires many generations of experience in a unique setting or environment before crystallization of cultural elements occurs. One would need to approach with extreme care the isolation of those elements which represent a distinct contribution of America as a social unit. Implements or materials of culture borrowed from older societies and continued unchanged should not be claimed as original culture elements unless those implements or materials of culture are made to function in unique ways in the American environment. Culture represents man's accumulated instruments and procedures that have

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been found useful in satisfying his needs. Malinowski accounts for the rise of culture as follows:

"Although culture is primarily born out of the satisfaction of biological needs, its very nature makes man into something essentially different from a mere animal organism. Man satisfies none of his needs as mere animal. Man has his wants as an implement making and implement using creature, as a communing and discoursing member of a group, as the guardian of a traditional continuity, as a toiling unit within a cooperative body of men, as one who is haunted by the past or in love with it, as one whom the events to come fill with hopes and with anxieties and finally as one to whom the division of labor and the provisions for the future have given leisure and opportunities to enjoy color, form and music."⁴

It is quite clear that the original elements in American culture are limited to certain aspects of these several areas in which culture elements are derived. As an implement maker and user, perhaps no people have done more to modify existing implements, or to promote the invention and development of new ones, or to perfect their use in mass production than have the American people. For this reason American culture is dominantly an industrial culture, and American civilization is characterized as an industrial civilization. If the function and not the form of a culture element is the fundamental concern in evaluating a culture, America would perhaps be given a prominent place among the contributors to implement making and implement using. America has made a contribution also to the form and processes of group communion and discourse. American democracy in both form and function represents a definite departure from European prac-

⁴ Malinowski, Bronislaw: "Culture," in *The Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol IV, p. 645. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

tices. Democratic political procedures and democratic social attitudes are American traditions that, in spite of the derogatory observations of our critics, grew out of experiences which led directly to the settlement and development of the American nation. Whether American political and social practices shall live as a distinct contribution to our culture will depend in large measure upon the fundamental soundness and adaptability of our theory of democracy to the political and social needs of succeeding generations.

Equality of Opportunity. America has made some contribution to the improvement of man as a toiler. Standards of living are a product of America's attitude toward the common man. Recent efforts to redirect the economic life of the nation are an expression of the humanitarian ideal and evidence of the nation's desire to make America a land of opportunity for the masses of its citizens.

America has assumed the role of the great Democracy and has for generations struggled to give expression to democratic ideals. These ideals, to be sure, have never been clearly defined, with the result that American ideals, historically traced, show a constant tendency to shift and veer with the winds. The more significant elements of the American ideal are embodied in the theory that "all men are created equal." The implications of this theory are far reaching and have led in some instances to serious consequences. In the first place, the notion grew out of old-world conditions and was a protest against the social and economic injustices which harassed the common man of the eighteenth century. Acceptance of this theory in the new world, without the same oppressive influences of an age-old aristocracy

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and a regime built upon oppression of the masses against which to battle constantly, tended to unbalance the social order. The result was the development of and the acceptance of a theory of extreme individualism, the effect of which in this country was to encourage "rugged individualism."

The "Common People." A second ideal which motivates behavior in America is that the safety of American democracy depends upon the "common people." This ideal finds expression in the principle of majority rule through popular election and views with suspicion any tendency toward class distinction. It tends to belittle the expert and his contribution to the social welfare. Leaders, in the sense of expertly qualified individuals, are frequently ignored in favor of leaders who arise out of crises.

Standards of Conduct. A third ideal of American democracy is suggested by the mania for making rules and regulations—the ideal of standards of conduct. America appears to the foreign observer as a land of good intentions as exemplified by the legislation and other regulations promulgated by a multitude of reform groups. The consequence of this ill-advised procedure is lack of law observance followed by more legislation *ad infinitum*.

Cooperative Action. A fourth ideal which has a fundamental value to a democracy, and which has frequently saved America in times of stress, is the ideal of cooperative action. Perhaps the finest product of American society is that resulting from cooperative activities growing out of critical situations. The best examples of legislative action are those giving legality to procedures already accepted in practice by cooperative groups. Much legislation for

purposes of education and the general social welfare has been of this type.

Sympathy for the Weak. A fifth ideal for which America stands is that of sympathy for and assistance to the weak. Strictures aimed at the American policy of self-interest cannot detract from the reputation, highly deserved, which America holds for giving aid and comfort to weaker peoples. Such expressions of humanitarianism have as a rule come from the hearts of the people and have not been mere playing to the galleries.

Summary of Ideals. To sum up, the ideals of American Democracy seem to center about the welfare of the common man. The great masses of humanity look to America as the land of opportunity, where they may realize happiness and freedom of choice of vocation and social relations. The American standard of living has always recognized the rights of all to a reasonable wage that will guarantee not only the necessities of food, clothing, and shelter, but something of the luxuries of life, thus making possible the recreation of the individual. Moreover, this ideal recognizes the essential cooperativeness of a democratic society, in order that no preferred group may dominate.

It seems clear that American ideals are gradually taking more definite form and are serving to motivate more constructive and intelligent action of local, state, and national groups. It is also to be recognized that in a constantly changing social order it is imperative that these ideals be kept free and unhampered by fixed forms or concepts that may limit their constant change. The fundamental institutions as well as the more specialized social and economic agencies are constantly changing to keep pace with

population growth, industrial and scientific development, and the multitude of problems arising out of these changing situations. The home, the school, the church, the theater, the agencies for social intercourse, the agencies for transportation and communication, the leisure-time institutions, have changed markedly within the past thirty years as to both form and function. Perhaps a more significant consideration is that these institutions have become closely interrelated. Frequently, these interrelations have developed antagonistic as well as cooperative attitudes and tendencies, thus complicating the problems of living for the average individual. The results of the world crisis following the war and of the recent American economic crisis impinge upon the individual at every turn. In a similar manner, however, the cooperative nature of the institutional life of the modern world makes it necessary that the individual and group relations be harmonized to the fullest possible degree.

Social Forces. Social forces play an ever-increasing role in human affairs. There is scarcely a human interest or activity that is not circumscribed by social forces. The entrance of the individual into the world is surrounded by circumstances determined in one way or another by standards set by society. The conditions under which the biological individual grows up in home, neighborhood, and the larger community place an everlasting mark upon him. Language, disposition, religion, politics, vocation, general culture, leisure interests, and many other characteristics and modes of response determine his personality within the limits set by his original nature. It is difficult to predict the relative significance of any one influence because of the variations in the

original nature of human beings, but there is ample evidence that personality develops through the impact of social forces operating in the individual's environment.

Individualism. It would seem apparent that a society that is dependent upon the conservation of the individual for its progress, even its existence, would so order its social and economic life that each individual would have a full opportunity for the realization of his best self. This has been the boast of America from time immemorial. American individualism has grown up much like Topsy and has tended to express itself in certain peculiar ways. The environment of a new and undeveloped country, isolated somewhat from the parent nations, has tended to overemphasize economic factors and the applications of science to industrial processes. The guarantee of individual freedom has been taken for granted by all, with interesting results. The man with a certain financial competence, or political ties, or family prestige is generally freer than the unknown but equally deserving member of society. The industrialist can command expert services in the field of science at the expense of the local health or welfare agencies. A baseball player attracts a larger crowd, and therefore greater acclaim and financial reward, than does a renowned philosopher or man of science or art. In short, the slogan "Success to success" appears to be the motivating force in determining individual opportunity, which in turn is the essence of American individualism, and little regard is paid to the essential social service rendered by these successful individuals. America needs to distinguish more effectively individuals on all ability levels and to provide more adequately for the full realization of

these abilities. A program of secondary education for a democratic society should not be planned in terms of the average. Such a program recognizes no individual; it is a mold into which no one can fit and tends to produce an hypothetical average individual after a badly conceived pattern in which personality is dwarfed, distorted, and unbalanced.

Education. In view of the peculiar nature of American society, education has an added significance in this country. This is particularly so with respect to secondary and higher education which traditionally are restricted to privileged classes in the old world. The secondary school in a land of aristocratic traditions is the instrument used by the existing regime for perpetuating itself. This same institution performs a similar function with significantly different results in a democratic society. The American secondary school is gradually outgrowing its selective tendencies and is now rapidly becoming a great "common school."

Education for leadership. If the secondary school is the institution for the education of leaders for the existing social order, it is obvious that a democracy can hope to survive only when such leadership is provided for all levels and conditions in the social order. America cannot survive by dependence upon an aristocracy of leaders. Leadership must be distributed throughout the whole population; every individual is a potential leader in something. This concept of leadership places a tremendous burden and responsibility upon the educational institutions, particularly the secondary schools and higher institutions. These institutions, therefore, must be understood in the light of their peculiar functions and responsibilities in a democratic society and cannot

be evaluated in terms of traditional European concepts of secondary and higher education.

Problems in secondary education. The problems in American life that demand consideration, in so far as a program of secondary education is concerned, may be stated as follows:

1. The biological foundations of American society must be preserved and constantly improved. This requires intelligent development of ideals of family life and of individual well-being.

2. An evolving culture, if it is to expand and enrich a people, must be the heritage of every individual in society. This is especially significant in a democratic society in which each individual must render his share to the full realization of the social ideals. Moreover, every individual has the right to expect a cultural medium in which his personality may function with reasonable satisfaction. In a culture that represents an amalgamation of a great variety of culture elements, many problems arise in making proper adjustments to the needs of the members of the new society.

3. Since the economic and social factors are basic in the origins of culture, it is obvious that such matters as the occupation of the individual loom large in promoting the happiness of the individual. At the present moment no more serious problem confronts American secondary education than the provision of education related to the choice and preparation for a suitable occupation for every individual. There should be a reasonable guarantee of economic security and a standard of living that will promote individual and social welfare.

4. A democratic society is safe only to the extent

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that its members are kept informed and are sensitive to, and capable of solving, the life problems that are constantly presented in an ever-changing social order. Agencies for gathering and disseminating information must be multiplied and coordinated. This need calls for many types of special services and trained specialists and technicians who can be trusted to render the services required.

5. In a democratic society it is essential that each individual have an equal opportunity with all other individuals for the fullest possible development. This freedom of the individual to develop is conditioned, of course, by its compatibility with the equal freedom of others. There can be no real equality of opportunity when rugged individualism runs riot and when the less capable are compelled to acquiesce in a social program that favors the more fortunately situated. Life in a democracy can be happy and fruitful only when a spirit of fair play permeates the entire social and economic structure. Codes controlling the behavior of the members of any occupational group will have little effect if all concerned, both producer and consumer, are not motivated by the spirit of fair play. Perhaps this latter problem and the method of its solution represent the real test of the soundness of American ideals. The degree to which the individual and society can live together harmoniously is in truth a measure of the effectiveness of democracy as a way of life.

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Secondary Education and Culture. The relation of secondary education in any society to its concept of culture and ideals is always clearly displayed. It is an accepted tradition among all peoples from

primitive groups to the most highly developed civilized groups that secondary education is perhaps the most important agency for perpetuating group culture or for reforming or redirecting the developing of its culture. Primitive secondary education is invariably concerned with the indoctrination of the youth with the peculiar culture of the group. An excellent modern example is secondary education in France in which the purpose dominating the entire program is the perpetuation of French culture through the instruction of a select group of youth in the whole range of the classical culture to which France ascribes her greatness. The French cultural ideal is the compelling force in the determination of its program of secondary education. Italy and Russia in a similar way are redirecting their national development through their reformed programs of secondary education.

History of Secondary Education. The history of American Secondary Education is the history of a constantly expanding ideal. Beginning with a narrow concept of secondary education borrowed from England and continental Europe, it has gradually expanded to include the education of all the youth.

The Latin grammar school. The Boston Latin School, established in 1635, is generally considered the first secondary school on the American continent. The Latin grammar school, along the Atlantic seaboard, served for the training of leaders only so long as leadership remained largely in the hands of the church. As new types of community leadership developed in the colonial communities, there arose a demand for the type of secondary education that would prepare leaders for these new types of activity. Throughout the first century of the Latin grammar

school's development, the problem of enforcing its establishment and maintenance became increasingly difficult. The methods used by the various New England communities in dodging the law requiring the establishment of grammar schools are typically American. Benjamin Franklin had run away from the opportunities of a Latin-grammar-school education in Boston to found in his middle life the first academy in America.

The academy. This school, *The Philadelphia Publick Academy*, opened in 1751, was a protest against the formal program of the Latin grammar school. It represented an opportunity for education for leadership in the practical affairs of life. Although Franklin received some of his inspiration from the writings of Daniel Defoe, his main inspiration was his recognition of the needs of the American colonial community for a better type of leadership in the practical business affairs of the community. It did not take long for this movement to spread to New England where, toward the close of the Revolution, there developed two of the outstanding secondary schools of the United States—The Phillips Academies. The academy was America's first important independent school and represented a break in the New England tradition of public education. It was also a new venture in secondary education in that it was not restricted in its influence to a local community. It represents, perhaps, the rise of the English-public-school type in this country although it was not intended to copy English practice. It is well to note, also, that the academy movement had its counterpart in continental Europe in the development of the German *Realschule*. Just as the Latin grammar school was the product of the humanistic

movement, so the academy was the product of realism and the new scientific movement.

Throughout the period of the transition in American history, which corresponds roughly to the period of the rise of the new nation, the academy was the dominant agency for secondary education in this country. Although there were many variations among the six thousand or more academies that were established at one time or another, the academy gradually came to represent a particular type of institution, stressing two types of programs—the classical program and the English program. The classical program was little more than a Latin-grammar-school program, while the English program represented an extension upward of a common English education. The early academy movement was typical of America's procedure in the founding of institutions.

The high school. Almost three quarters of a century of experimentation with this new institution was required in blazing the trail for the establishment of the American high school. Although the *Boston English Classical School*, established in 1821, represented an extension of educational opportunity to the children in the primary schools, its curriculum was suggested largely by the English program of the academy. In a similar manner the classical program of the academy appears to have influenced the curriculum of the classical department of the high school after the fusion of the English high school with the Latin grammar school in many New England towns. The experimentation of the academy with coeducation and with student activities, as well as with special subjects such as music, art, and man-

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ual activities, had a significant influence upon the expanding program of the new American high school.

The close of the Civil War represented the end of an era in American secondary education. Many of the academy foundations were depleted and the competition of the tax-supported high school completed their destruction. There followed a wholesale transfer of properties and goodwill from trustees of academies to local public high schools. This movement had been under way since the trying years of the late "thirties." The Civil War only hastened the change which was sure to come with the rapid spread of the public high school throughout the eastern United States. As new states were set up to the westward, and each reserved public lands for educational purposes, the public high school spread westward with the march of population.

Following the Civil War, a period of retrenchment and consolidation set in with the result that the high school crystallized its program and practices. Issues regarding the public high school arose here and there in local communities but were generally settled in a manner favorable to the extension of public secondary education. At least nine state-supreme-court decisions concerned with the legality of the public high school were rendered during this period; eight of these decisions were entirely favorable, the most important being, perhaps, the Kalamazoo decision in 1874. By 1890, a well-defined movement for reform was gaining momentum under the leadership of President Eliot of Harvard. Out of this new movement, beginning with the Report of the Committee of Ten in 1893, came the reorganization of American secondary education. This famous report, in spite of its conservative recommendations, aroused great

interest in secondary education throughout the nation. The thirty years following the issuance of the report saw a series of reports of committees of the National Educational Association and its affiliated organizations dealing specifically with reforms in secondary education. The most important of these were the Committee on College Entrance Requirements (1899), the Committee on Six-year Courses (1905-1909), the Committee on Economy of Time (1905-1913), the Committee on the Articulation of High School and College (1911-1912), and the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (1912-1922). These several reports, the most far-reaching being those of the Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education, recommended reforms which have changed the form and spirit of the American secondary school from a conventional institution for general education for a small and select portion of the population to a comprehensive institution aiming to educate all the youth of the ages twelve to eighteen or twenty.

Present-day Secondary Education. Radical changes in the types of organization and the content of the program have resulted in the establishment of the junior high school, the senior high school, the junior college, and the six-year high school, as well as other variant types of schools. The most significant result of the reorganization was perhaps the enlargement of the point of view and the redirection of the educational program by a clarification of the philosophy of secondary education. The major contribution to this accomplishment was the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* which appeared as one of several reports of the Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education. Perhaps no

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single document has had more widespread influence upon educational reorganization, not only in America but in other countries as well.

Three centuries of American secondary education have wrought much in the name of educational opportunity for the common people. From America's first secondary school—the Boston Latin School of 1635 with one teacher and a few boys of the best families—to America's system of secondary education in 1935 with 28,000 secondary schools, 240,000 teachers, and 6,000,000 boys and girls of all levels of society, some estimate may be ventured as to the effort of a democracy in the provision of educational opportunity.

Its deficiencies. In spite of this evidence of enthusiasm for the education of the youth of America, there is increasing evidence of failure to provide a program of secondary education suited to the needs of youth in a modern industrialized society. It is apparent on all sides that the American program of secondary education is not adapted to the nation's needs for social and cultural leadership. Opportunity to *attend school* is too often considered a guarantee of *educational opportunity*. Providing a real opportunity for secondary education to every American youth is lost sight of in our concern with problems of administration. Too much energy has been devoted to artificial means of increasing enrollments and in massing large numbers of young people under one roof and too little or none to the provision of effective educational programs.

America has had a supreme confidence in her schools, and has been too easily persuaded to relieve the home and other community institutions of responsibilities on the theory that the school should

be more closely related to life situations and activities. The secondary school has assumed responsibility for vocational education, for education for home membership, for civic and social education, and for education in a wide range of leisure-time pursuits. The mistake has not been in the relating of the program of secondary education to life, but rather in the assumption of too great responsibility for education within school walls.

Its responsibilities. Education is not fully accomplished in school; it is a responsibility of the existing society. The school was established as a social institution to perform a special professional service which other institutions were unable to perform. It is highly desirable that American society shall realize that all social institutions have some responsibility for social progress through education. With the present complex nature of American society there is great need of coordinating the educational service of all social institutions so that the youth of America may be more efficient members of society. There is considerable evidence that large numbers of youth now in American secondary schools would profit more by part-time cooperative education in which other institutions contribute to the educational program. Perhaps another considerable number should not be in school at all but should have a program of secondary education constituted wholly of experiences in life situations in the community, but planned and coordinated by the school.

Its objectives. If current objectives in American secondary education are used as criteria, it is quite clear that many if not most of the elements of a program of secondary education related to health, vocation, social and civic activities, cultural and

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recreational interests, and perhaps others, demand a community setting rather than a formal school setting. Every community abounds in opportunities for the effective education of youth. The opportunities need coordination and direction by a professional agency qualified to determine relative values of educative experiences and of procedures in directing and evaluating the activities and their results. Education in a democracy cannot be undemocratic in its spirit and character or in the procedures for its administration. American secondary education should not strive for those evidences or forms that are peculiar to an undemocratic social order, if in so doing it shall fail in the accomplishment of its goal. An educational practice that compels an individual to conform to a program of a traditional pattern suited only to a limited few is so obviously undemocratic in character and spirit that its defense requires resort to arguments purely traditional and arising out of an age-old practice of autocratic secondary education. Secondary education for American democracy is a cooperative venture for the success of which every social institution is responsible.

CONCLUSIONS

American society is the result of a great population movement which in one form or another has been in progress for ages. The successive waves of population from the old world were driven on by varying forces, mostly human desires for adventure, wealth, freedom, or similar motives. The first of those adventurous spirits who came to settle brought with them the only institutions and practices that they knew—their own language, social customs, political forms, religious faith. Out of these beginnings

grew our American institutions fashioned by the influences of the new environment and by the new spirit which is distinctive of America. A dominant characteristic of American society is that it is highly dynamic. It is in a state of constant change due to the variant elements of its population, the freedom of movement, and the progress in adaptation to environment.

Out of this complex of population and undeveloped environment has developed a new type of culture—industrial, in contrast with the older agrarian cultures. American culture is not a new culture, because it has been gathered from the whole world—more particularly from the northwest European culture groups. There is, however, a new emphasis being placed upon certain important aspects of the old culture elements, and it is this emphasis that is primarily American. These culture emphases and the ideals of the people have placed their imprint upon the institutions for education and the general welfare. Any attempt to understand American secondary education fails unless the peculiar culture concept and the national ideals are understood.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Prepare a list of institutions in your community and classify them according to the peculiar functions performed by them.
2. How does a frontier society differ from the present day American society?
3. What is the difference between a dynamic society and a static society? Why do they differ?
4. Classify the occupational groups in a typical urban community; a typical rural community; a typical suburban community. Is there a significant variation? Why?

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5. What is culture? How is it developed? Why is culture important?
6. What is a "standard"? How are standards established? Of what value are standards?
7. What is meant by "common people"? Why are there so many of them?
8. What is the relation between society and the individual? In an autocratic social order? In a democratic social order?
9. What is the traditional function of the secondary school?
10. What is the peculiar importance of secondary education in a democratic social order?
11. List the obvious strong points and weak points in American secondary education. Present evidence to support your statements.
12. Who should determine the objectives in American secondary education? How?

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CHAPTER II

AMERICAN YOUTH

What Is Youth? Youth is popularly understood to include that part of the total population whose age and maturity place them between childhood and adulthood. It represents approximately the chronological ages ten or twelve to eighteen or twenty. The period of youth in primitive societies was and is the time of induction into the mysteries and responsibilities of tribal life. All youths, boys and girls, whose families belong to the tribe are included in the primitive program of secondary education. With the dawn of history and the rise of civilized societies, the formalities of education for social and occupational life gradually operated to select those youths who were intellectually capable of survival. As a consequence, formal secondary education became increasingly selective, and those youths who for social, economic, or intellectual reasons were not acceptable for positions of leadership had little or no opportunity for education beyond the period of childhood. Secondary education in modern times has been the privilege of a very small portion of the population and not until the end of the nineteenth century did any important civilized country seriously consider the possibility of making secondary education available to the masses of youth.

THE AMERICAN POPULATION

Growth of Population. The American population is a mixture of many elements. The growth in three

and a quarter centuries from a white population of less than five hundred to a teeming mass of more than one hundred and twenty-five millions is a great episode in human history. In spite of a continuous numerical increase in population with each decade, there has been for a long time a significant decline in the rate of population growth. Before the Civil War the rate of increase by decades was thirty-five per cent; from 1920 to 1930 the rate of increase was only sixteen per cent.

The growth of population has been due to two important causes—rapid natural increase and a continuous immigration from the old world. The agrarian civilization that developed and peopled the great expanse of territory known as the United States encouraged the rearing of large families. The pioneer farmer was dependent to a great extent upon family labor, and thus early in the history of the country the large family became an American tradition. The rapid increase due to a high birth rate was augmented by a constant flow of population from the British Isles and northwestern Europe.

Age Groups. The distribution of the population among the various age groups has implications for secondary education in this country that cannot be ignored. If American democracy is embarked upon a program of secondary education for all the youth with the full intention of realizing this goal at whatever cost, it is well to understand the full extent of this obligation. The number of young people of secondary-school age to be provided for should be known in order that some estimate of costs may be made. It may then be desirable to decide whether such an obligation is likely to be met without too great strain upon the financial power of the country.

In 1930 the census report showed a total popula-

tion of more than one hundred and twenty-two millions. Of this total, approximately thirty-one millions belong to the age group six to eighteen and fall within the period of elementary and secondary education. Of this group, approximately fifteen millions fall within the age group twelve to eighteen, to which the nation has theoretically guaranteed an opportunity for secondary education. It is obvious, however, that the ability of the country to provide for the education of increasing millions of youths is affected somewhat by the ratio of youth to be educated to wealth-producing adults in the total population. Some light is thrown on this problem by a study of trends in age groups over the past century.

The age status of the American population has been constantly changing, the ratio of the age groups under twenty decreasing and the ratio of the age groups over thirty increasing. Within the past one-hundred years, the population under five years of age has dropped from 17.4 per cent of the total to 9.3 per cent; the population five to nineteen years of age has dropped from 37.2 per cent to 29.5 per cent; the population twenty to twenty-nine years of age has dropped from 18.2 per cent to 16.9 per cent; the population thirty to forty-four years of age has increased from 15.7 per cent to 21.5 per cent; the population forty-five to sixty-five years of age has increased from 2.5 per cent to 5.4 per cent. Present trends indicate that this tendency will continue at about the same rate for the next fifty years. This constant change in ratio of age groups to the total population would tend to show constantly increased wealth-earning man power for the support of a constantly decreasing school-age group. It is perhaps true that in so far as elementary education is con-

cerned there is little doubt as to the future possibilities. It is not safe, however, to assume that the remaining eight to ten millions of youth not yet provided for in secondary schools can be provided for at the same per capita cost. There is a growing tendency also to extend the opportunities of secondary education upward into the older youth period of the nineteen to twenty-year age group. Such an extension would add four and a half millions to the secondary-school group and offer a total of nearly twenty millions of young people for secondary education.

New Problems in Secondary Education. There are problems involved relating to new kinds of secondary education if the educational needs of the whole youth population are to be provided for. The nature of the young people not now in secondary schools may require more expensive kinds of education than that now provided and, consequently, may make the social burden unbearable except in periods of prosperity. It should be noted also that the ratio of nonadults to adults is greater in those areas of the United States that have less per capita wealth. Under our present plan of education, in which the state is the ultimate authority and source of support, there seems little hope of equalizing the educational opportunity throughout the several states.

The education of youth in America is fraught with many difficulties growing out of the varied racial and cultural composition of the population. Eighty-five per cent of this population had its origin in northwestern Europe. In 1930 nearly four-fifths of the American population were native white and of these nearly three-fourths were of native stock, the remaining one-fourth being of foreign or mixed par-

entage. About one-fifth of the total population was distributed about equally among foreign-born white and colored races, the latter mostly native negroes with a small number of Mexicans and Asiatics. A recent study of population figures for the past half century reveals a gradual increase in the relative number of native whites, a decrease in the relative number of foreign-born whites, and a very significant decrease, more than fifty per cent, in relative number of negroes. Further analysis of the trends reveals a startling decline in the proportion of native stock in New England and the Middle Atlantic States. The relative number of native-born population is preserved to some extent, however, by a rapid increase in native white of foreign or mixed parentage. There is revealed also a sharp decline in proportion of negroes in the population of the Southern states. This change is due to two important causes: the migration of negroes to northern cities, and the higher ratio of death rate to birth rate among the negroes as compared with whites.

Apparently the older population centers of the New England and Middle Atlantic states are in a transition stage in which large numbers of new population elements are being infused. These heterogeneous masses are maintaining, at least for the present, independent culture groups and are finding it difficult to become an integral part of the larger community. The educational problems are multiplied among the native born of foreign parentage, the foreign born, and the negroes. Perhaps, if the present immigration policy is continued, the problems arising in dealing with the foreign groups will disappear; but the problems of the negro are likely to continue indefinitely until some better solution

is found than any that has yet been tried. The problems are essentially the problems of dealing justly with minority groups, aggravated in the case of the negro by fixed traditional attitudes of the stronger toward the weaker group.

NATURE OF AMERICAN YOUTH

Human Characteristics. American youth, a term that is sufficiently general to avoid technical distinctions, represents a great section of the population, approximately fifteen millions of all types of human beings. They fall generally between the ages of twelve and eighteen or twenty, although there may be some overlapping due to retardation or acceleration of growth. In general, the characteristics of youth may be classified as physical, mental, and emotional, although these characteristics are invariably intermingled in more complex characteristics. The basic innate characteristics have been assembled and coordinated as the individual has developed patterns of response to certain fixed elements of his environment. Among the lower animal types, many of these fixed modes or patterns of response have been perfected in the prenatal life, and the young animal apparently has his full complement of abilities that change very little during a relatively short period of infancy. Except for the more or less complete but undeveloped physical equipment, the human child has only general tendencies to react by means of his immature physical organs and also certain basic feelings which are related to these reactions.

Social psychologists have been accustomed to describe the original nature of the human being in a manner analogous to that of the lower animal types.

Instincts have been attributed to human beings as the essential basic tendencies in the original nature. Associated with this are emotions which are basic feeling elements. These feelings elements have been elaborated into sentiments and other more or less complex feeling characteristics. In addition, certain fixed types of simple response have been characterized as reflexes, such as the batting of the eye, the sudden contraction of muscles, and other similar simple responses to environmental factors.

Present-day psychologists do not agree upon the particulars as to instincts and emotions. Watson urges that the only basic innate responses are *fear*, *rage*, and *love*.¹ Ogden is inclined to accept three types of instincts as proposed by Rivers: "(1) those of a self-preservation; (2) those which subserve the continuance of the race; (3) those which maintain the cohesion of the group."² He lists under these general types a number of the conventional instincts or emotional responses, such as fear, rage, hunger, thirst, curiosity, acquisitiveness, constructiveness, adornment, cleanliness, mating, parental instinct, communism, leadership, imitation, and play. It is admitted, of course, that the evidence upon which the analysis of instincts and emotional responses is based is empirically and not scientifically determined.

Original nature. This discussion is concerned with the fact that the human being in his development is limited by his original nature and that no human trait can develop without a basis somewhere in the original nature of the individual. Although it must

¹ Watson, J. B.: *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist*, pp. 279 ff.

² Ogden, R. M.: *Psychology and Education*, p. 52.

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be recognized that the present empirically derived conception of this original nature may not be entirely in accord with the true nature of the human being, it must serve for the present as a guide to understanding the factors which constantly condition growth and learning.

The general tendency to react to stimuli and the *affective* state of the human organism resulting from the original reaction are highly significant facts in respect to education. The general tendency to react to stimuli provides the foundation for habit formation. The absence of fixed pattern reactions such as are found in the lower animals gives the human child a great advantage over the young of lower animals in spite of the temporary handicap in early childhood in not having completely developed pattern reactions. The extended period of infancy of the human child makes it possible for parental or other agencies to direct the child's learning in accordance with his needs in a changing environment. The emotional nature of the human being in like manner can, through a period of appropriate education, be developed into a strong internal force or drive for motivating desirable activities. The emotions are the basis for a great range of educational outcomes of the type of appreciations, attitudes, and ideals. They are basic to the development of interests, whether they be momentary attractions or abiding life purposes.

Physical characteristics. The physical characteristics of the human being are much more clearly understood. There is still considerable doubt as to the peculiar functions of the glandular system and the relation of glands to the total efficiency of the body. With our reasonably exact knowledge of the physi-

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cal characteristics of human beings it would seem that the direction and care of the physical development and the control or elimination of physical factors affecting mental and emotional growth would be relatively easy. One difficulty in this connection lies in the lack of a clear understanding of the relation between physical and mental and emotional growth. Moreover, individuals vary as to specific traits to such a degree that it is difficult to estimate the influence of physical, mental, and emotional characteristics upon each other.

The physical characteristics of youth are of two general types and are concerned with anatomical and physiological growth. The anatomical characteristics are structural in nature and are subject to measurement and evaluation. The more common anatomical characteristics may be listed as height, weight, head, trunk, chest, extremities, skeletal system, muscular system, circulatory system, reproductive system, digestive system, respiratory system, and nervous system. Since education is concerned with directing the growth of the individual, the anatomical growth tendencies of youth are of fundamental importance in this discussion. Contrary to a belief that the adolescent period is a time of sudden change, the results of studies show that the growth in stature of both boys and girls of the youth period is fairly regular. Girls tend to grow somewhat more rapidly from the ages of about nine to thirteen, and boys tend to grow more rapidly from the ages of about twelve to sixteen than at any other periods. Increase in stature among girls generally stops between the ages of seventeen and twenty. Boys continue to grow in stature until about the age of twenty-two. In general boys are taller than girls.

at all times except between the ages of eleven and thirteen. The variation of individuals of the same sex, in growth of stature, is significant. The evidence available tends to show that tall boys and girls begin the period of rapid growth earlier and reach their maximum height earlier than other boys and girls. There is also a tendency for tall boys and girls at the beginning of youth to remain tall on arrival at adulthood.

The growth tendencies in weight for boys and girls are approximately identical in character, boys being heavier than girls, except during the age period eleven to fifteen when girls tend to weigh more than boys; this merely reflects the earlier tendency toward maturity on the part of girls. Boys and girls that tend to be heavy or light before the age of ten, have a tendency to be heavy or light at the age of sixteen. The growth of head, trunk, and extremities of both boys and girls is regular during the adolescent period.

The youth period is generally recognized as a period of rapid physiological change. The earlier stage, twelve to fifteen years of age, known as the early adolescent period is a period of change from sexual immaturity to sexual maturity. It begins with a large proportion immature and by the end of the period a large proportion are either maturing or mature. Girls as a group mature about a year and a half earlier than boys, although there are noticeable variations among individuals of both sexes.

Mental characteristics. The mental characteristics of American youth are revealed by general measures of intelligence and by achievement in the various types of school and life activity requiring ability to meet new situations in the environment. In general,

American youth vary greatly with respect to mental ability. On the basis of mental tests they vary from those who are not able to meet the demands of environmental situations to those who have high creative ability. On the basis of the intelligence quotient, the range of young people found in secondary schools is approximately 70 to 140+, the great majority of youth falling within the range of 90 to 110. The elements of the mental characteristics of the individual which are generally recognized are sensory and perceptual capacities, attention, memory, and judgment. Individuals vary in respect to these characteristics, and the significance of these variations is perhaps most important when it is necessary to determine causes of unadjustment or to diagnose the difficulties observed in the individual's attempt to solve new problems arising out of his school or other environment.

In the case of all these characteristics, evidences show that there is generally a gradual increase in development, both in general and with respect to each characteristic, from birth until approximately the ages fourteen to sixteen. Although the learning curve is made up of plateaus and reveals points of sudden upward growth, it has in the average individual a general upward trend. There is little evidence of sudden and unusual mental-growth tendencies except at the onset of the adolescent period, when there seems to be a more rapid increase in mental abilities; this is probably due to the accumulation of abilities stimulated by an expanding environment, both natural and social, rather than to the unfolding powers that are supposed to accompany physiological maturing. This accumulation in growth appears a year or two earlier among girls than among boys and

probably ceases a year or two sooner for girls than for boys. The evidence as to the influence of physiological growth upon mental growth is not sufficiently conclusive to warrant the generalization that changes in mental development during adolescence are causally related to physiological changes.

The psychological research within the past quarter of a century reveals that many of the older concepts of mental development were to some degree unsound. The traditional notion that the development of judgment and reasoning power began with the adolescent period, or at about the age of twelve, has little justification. The child begins to reason the moment that he is able to direct his attention to fixed elements of his environment. The fact that he chooses to give attention to one element rather than to another is a primary factor in the development of his reasoning powers. The traditional notion that subjects should be studied during childhood that require imitative and memory activities to the exclusion of activities requiring reason is no longer tenable. Study of the foreign languages should be begun in childhood, not fundamentally because children can learn only through the memory processes, but for the better reason that in childhood the vocal apparatus is still flexible and can be modified for making sounds that are foreign to the individual.

Emotional characteristics. The relation of the intellectual and emotional traits is generally recognized. High mental functioning involves both high intellectual ability and exceptional emotional control. It is important, therefore, that consideration be given to emotional characteristics of youth in any discussion of the nature of youth. The emotional nature of the individual at any given time is the re-

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sult of the growth of emotional characteristics having a basis in his original nature. This growth is conditioned by environmental stimuli which tend to determine his interests, aspirations, and life purposes. The emotional nature of the individual is essentially the feeling element of mentality and has a direct relation to the intellectual characteristics. An emotion is defined as a *general disturbance of the bodily organs due to efforts at physical or intellectual response*. These responses may in some instances represent instinctive responses not initially controlled or directed by conscious effort on the part of the individual. This is true in the early stages of the individual development; but as the individual increases his control over his bodily movements and becomes more capable of selecting his responses, the emotional life becomes better adapted to the stimulation of his activities in directions in accord with selected interests and purposes. Youth is typically a period of high emotional tension due to the competing interests and motives abounding during that period. It is the period when friends and close companions are chosen. The normal tendency to join groups or "gangs," to become allied with certain causes of a religious or partisan nature, arouses the emotional nature to a high pitch. The selection of definite individual life goals and the choice of suitable educational or other means for gaining admission to particular occupations are of vital concern to youth.

The life of the individual during the period of youth in school or out of school is complicated by conflicting emotional tendencies. In the secondary school the stimulation of school life and activities in which the student participates is an important in-

fluence in the development of the individual. The general atmosphere, morale, and discipline of the school condition the achievement in intellectual work and the development of sound health and physical well-being. In a suitable environment, school loyalties are developed that have a strong motivating influence upon the individual. Leadership and general cooperation in the community life of the school represent emotionalized outcomes to be strengthened and directed with a view to a wider participation in community affairs. In general, the school may be largely responsible for the proper stimulation and direction of interests, life purposes, attitudes, ideals, and standards of conduct suitable for the wholesome development of youth.

Environmental Stimuli. The undirected activities of young people in any community are sources of grave danger. The possibilities of stimulation to vice and crime inherent in many existing social conditions have been the subject for study and discussion by numerous educational and welfare agencies. The effect of idleness, gang activities, low-grade moving pictures, public dance halls, night clubs, vicious pornographic literature, and other similar agencies are well known to parents, teachers, and social workers. The appeal is made to the emotional nature of youth, particularly the curiosity concerning sex life and the innate tendency toward group activity. The effect of these environmental influences upon the personality of the individual is so great during the period of childhood and youth that educators, social workers, physicians, and law-enforcement agencies are co-operating in an attempt to develop a sounder program in the handling of delinquents. A dwarfed and distorted personality and a well-balanced and inte-

grated personality are products in large measure of environment. Those responsible for the direction of the education of youth in a complex industrial society must give increasing attention to the effects of environment upon youth.

The original nature of the human being determines the limits of his growth, but the direction of this growth is largely determined by environmental factors surrounding him. His personality, therefore, is a product of his original nature in reaction to the environmental stimuli. Every experience which the individual undergoes, whether pleasurable or non-pleasurable, has its peculiar effect upon the development of his personality. Although there is no intention to attempt to classify human beings according to types, such as the altruistic and egoistic, or the social and the nonsocial, it is well to recognize the fact that the original nature of human beings contains the basic traits for the development of either the social or nonsocial being. It is true that there may be psychophysical characteristics of the individual that favor the one or the other type or general tendency, but in most, if not all, individuals there is the potentiality for the social or the non-social being.

Social tendencies. In the present state of mankind it is quite clear that individual happiness is likely to be more certain if the individual learns to get along with his fellows. Most of the conscious life of the human being is spent directly or indirectly under the influence of other people. It is a matter of great concern in a democratic society that the social traits of the individual be such as to facilitate the fullest personality development of each individual and that no individual shall fail to achieve

his proper development because of lack of opportunity, or because conditions favor other individuals at his expense. The traditional concept of secondary education as a means of developing leaders—a small and select social or intellectual group—ignores the potential leadership qualities of each individual. Secondary education in America must recognize that each individual is a member of social groups and that in one or more of these he may perform the activities of leadership while in other groups he is capable only of cooperating with others under competent leadership. Whatever qualities the social individual may possess, it is clear that he should learn to excel in something in order that he may happily and willingly contribute through service and cooperation in numerous other ways.

Youth has always been recognized as the period during which social tendencies are strongest. It is probably nearer the truth to say that during the period of youth the strong social tendencies have greatest opportunity for expression. Certainly the child becomes increasingly conscious of others, and if the environment is strongly social the individual develops his social traits more rapidly and shows social tendencies long before the period of youth. Social development is consequently a matter of development through group experience. One of the dominant features of the English secondary school is its dependence upon the life of the school for the development of the social nature of the individual. It recognizes the importance of the group as a means of perpetuating ideals and practices essential to the greatest individual and social good as interpreted by English civilization.

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Individual Differences. Individuals differ in the total composition of these characteristics and in the individual traits. Typical differences in physical traits are the differences in height, weight, lung capacity, build, efficiency of the various organs in performing their peculiar functions, and stage of physiological maturity. In a similar manner individuals vary as to a general index of mental ability and as to special mental traits. Examples of this mental variability are numerous in any group of youth. If they are unselected the variability, of course, is much greater than when selected on the basis of some peculiar trait. An unselected group of twelve-year-old youths in any community is likely to be less variable in any mental trait than a group selected at random from the entire community. Not only do individuals vary as to a general index of mental ability but they vary with reference to specific traits. No matter which of the existing theories of mental ability one accepts, there is sound justification for the recognition of individual variation with respect to specific abilities among individuals having homogeneous general mental indices.

Differentiation of Education. The fact that such individual variations in mental abilities exist concomitantly with the existence of differences in physical and emotional characteristics demands that all education must of necessity be individualized. A program of education, no matter how carefully planned, represents in the last analysis possible means of education and must be used with wisdom in providing for the individual needs of each learner. This condition increases with the increasing experiences of each individual. The need for differentiation of education for individuals is even more urgent when due

consideration is given to differences in emotional characteristics of individuals. No matter what agencies participate in the determination of curriculum, the final determiner of the true curriculum for any individual is the individual himself. Much of the romance of the old formal curriculum is the product of the imagination of a few who managed somehow to succeed in loving the old cultural subjects in spite of poor teaching and the daily grind aimed to select the few hardy spirits who finally survived the ordeal. The result is a woeful picture of the decline of the classics in American secondary education. One fears that much may be lost of the culture that was of Greece and Rome because of the ignorance of our early schoolmasters, because of their lack of understanding of the part played by the emotions of the learner in the final determination of the true curriculum. More specifically the emotional factors are of tremendous significance in those masteries that involve ideals, attitudes, and appreciations. Perhaps the major problem cases among youth are problem cases because of the dominance of the emotional factor in experience. There is need for a full recognition of differences in individuals physically and mentally because physical and mental unadjustment has an immediate and direct effect upon the emotional reactions.

Interests and life purposes are basically emotional, no matter how much the physical and mental traits contribute to their origin or their persistence. There should be a clear understanding of the emotional elements involved in the individual's choices, whether they be persistent or transitory. Although some types of education or of occupations require mental and physical powers beyond the capacity of a par-

ticular individual, due recognition should be given to the tremendous driving power of the emotions. It is frequently the case that a lack of mental or physical ability ordinarily required for success in a particular direction may be abundantly compensated for in traits of character of the highly emotionalized type. Those responsible for directing the development of young people are compelled to recognize these intangible drives as they differ in individuals and seek for those in each individual that may serve as lines of stimulation to the greatest possible development.

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF AMERICAN YOUTH

Problems of Youth. It is a trite statement to say that American youth need to be developed into socially efficient personalities, and yet that is precisely what the secondary schools and other educational agencies must recognize as their goal. If American society is to be a real democracy, the program for the education of youth must strive constantly to make of each individual a socially efficient personality. American youth should first of all have lived as socially efficient children, for the best preparation for entrance upon the period of youth is a happy, successful childhood. By the same token the best preparation for adulthood is a happy and successful youth. Meeting the demands of life as they arise, ability to solve the problems of youth, is perhaps the most significant aim in secondary education in a democracy. Any other concept of preparation through education for living happily and successfully is inconsistent with our dynamic and rapidly changing society.

A youth that is lived successfully and happily

must function in a number of important fields of human activity. All normally active youths are confronted with certain common problems:

1. How to develop and maintain good health and a sound body
2. How to participate effectively in a happy and successful home life
3. How to choose and prepare one's self for an occupation and for the other practical problems in individual adjustment
4. How to participate successfully and with increasing efficiency in social life
5. How to be increasingly happy in the pursuits of leisure time

Needs of Youth. A fundamental need of American youth is sound physique and healthy development. Closely associated with the general physical status of the individual is that of his mental and emotional status.

Mental health. Mental health has become increasingly important in American society, due to the constant pressure of professions, business, commercial, and other occupations upon the individual for a demonstration of intelligence in the solution of problems related to vocation. Within the past quarter of a century large numbers of occupations have set as a minimum admission requirement graduation from secondary school or higher educational qualifications for all young people inducted into service. So much stress has been placed upon the importance of education and earning a living that enterprising educational leaders, guidance experts, and counselors have attempted to calculate the value of an education in terms of a daily wage. The greater earning

power of the high school and college graduate as compared with the individual who met the minimum educational requirements of the state law for employment has been constantly held before the unsuspecting youth of America. School education has probably been overemphasized in America as the only road to success in life. This narrow interpretation of education has been largely to blame for the clamor on the part of American parents and their sons and daughters for an increasing opportunity for formal schooling. With the depression revealing the weakness of the old notions regarding the efficacy of formal education, many young people find themselves unbalanced in their thinking and in a bad state of mind relative to the possibilities ahead of them. American youth at the present time needs a great deal of sound therapeutic treatment with respect to his mental ills. There is a definite lack of understanding on the part of American educators of the problems involved in the improvement of the mental health of American youth.

Emotional health. Closely associated with this problem is one that is even more serious in that it affects the whole machinery for physical and mental functioning. The emotional nature of the individual has never been well understood. With the rapid shifting of social and economic foundations, many young people, not to mention older people as well, have suffered from emotional stress to such an extent that they have been quite unable to function mentally and physically as efficient human beings. The problems that have arisen in recent years in the lives of young people have revealed more clearly than ever before the close relation of the emotional with the physical and mental nature of the individ-

ual. It is quite clear that our consideration of health is no longer to be restricted to the physical health. There is pressing need for the more intelligent consideration of the mental and emotional health of the individual if his needs for proper educational treatment are to be fully recognized and adequate provision is to be made for them.

Practical education. Every young American, due largely to the nature of his early environment, has need for development along practical lines. American youth in the past has had an unusual opportunity for education in practical affairs—habits, skills, and knowledge and understanding of everyday practical activities. In recent years, however, with the shifting of population from rural and small-village communities to large urban centers, the opportunity for developing these practical abilities has been eliminated. There is perhaps a greater need today for such practical training than in the early days on the farm or in the village. The developments in mechanical invention alone have increased the necessity for ability to control machines and to make mechanical adjustments in home and office. Closely associated with this need is a need for fundamental educational opportunities related to human living. A great deal of attention has been devoted in recent years to homemaking programs for girls; in some instances these programs have been presented on a purely vocational basis. But no similar provision has been made for the education of boys in problems related to the home. Most of the courses in practical arts have been limited to purely mechanical activities. There is great need on the part of the older youth of America, especially boys, for more practical educational opportunities related to homemaking

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and home life. It may be that our American communities will have to provide, in addition to suitable formal education in the schools, some type of co-operative program in which the school may aid young people in developing proper home life at the time they are establishing their homes. In addition to this, there is great need for community agencies with an educational slant that can help young people who are attempting to conduct proper homes with expert service and advice relative to the solution of home problems. Some effective work has been done with adults, under the provisions of the Smith-Lever Act, by home-demonstration agents. The experience in this field is sufficient to warrant the expansion of this type of work in thousands of American communities. Education for American youth in the field of practical activities and home-making must recognize that the constant change in demands upon the oncoming generations must be provided for through a program of education that extends beyond the walls of the secondary school into the community life in which the individual will sooner or later become a responsible participant.

Occupational preparation. The experience of recent years has revealed the great uncertainty of our state of mind in the field of occupational preparation. Changes in occupational opportunity for young people have been rapid and unexpected, because of technological changes in the field of industry and because of the wholesale application of principles of efficiency in business and in other fields. There is apparently an increase in the need for occupational rehabilitation on the older-youth level. Perhaps the problem is greater than it should be because of our peculiarly specialized vocational education pro-

grams in both the secondary school and the higher institution. There is little doubt that society will continue to need services in certain large fields, but the exact nature of these services at least in some fields cannot be forecast with any degree of certainty. The problem is not one of lack of occupational opportunity on the part of our young people, but one of overspecialization, or outmoded specialization, in training for the performance of vocational activities no longer required because of changes due to scientific developments and to improvements in the organization and management of workers.

Activities of Youth. The general character of American society has been discussed in the previous chapter. It is quite clear that education of youth in a democratic social order must recognize the numerous group activities in which each youth is likely to participate. It is possible to discuss only the general fields in which those activities are likely to be carried on.

Social activities. In general, these are classified as social and economic activities. Perhaps it would be wise to be more specific and include political, religious, and cultural activities as well as those group activities related to the occupation which the individual follows. The migratory tendencies peculiar to the average American bring him in contact with numerous groups outside of his own community. His general social relations may involve social acquaintances, professional contacts, political relations, and cultural relations in various parts of the United States and in foreign countries. This condition is not restricted to the man of wealth, the perennial traveler in European society, but is rapidly becoming a part of the heritage of the common man.

in America. It is increased greatly by the use of the radio broadcast and by the use of other recent mechanical inventions that have brought all parts of the world in closer contact. The recent political changes in America, the breaking up of traditional religious influence, the broadening of social outlook, the improvement of the general economic conditions of the American people in spite of the recurrent depression periods, the gradual emergence of distinct cultural elements are all evidences of a changing social and economic order requiring a kind and amount of education for young people never before required in any civilization. The future of America is probably dependent more upon a sound program of education and participation in the general social life of America than upon any other one factor.

Leisure-time activities. There is a close relationship between the general social needs of American young people and their needs of education for leisure. It is difficult often to distinguish between purely individualistic leisure interests of people and their interests in the rendering of service to their social group. Perhaps it is not important that a clear distinction be made. It may be that we can learn a lesson from the older English practice which encourages young and old to devote a considerable part of their leisure to social service. In England, great emphasis is placed upon the responsibility of the citizen to participate as fully as possible in both local and national affairs. In this way there is a close relationship between the Englishman's leisure activities and his general social activities. He learns early to recognize the interdependence of the individual and the group with which the individual lives. Although he is free to develop his special in-

terests, he measures the effect of his participation in leisure activities by the influence that this participation is likely to have upon the general social welfare. Rugged individualism in America has not always been favorable to the development of high ideals of social service. It has tended naturally to emphasize the desires and interests of the individual. The advocates of this concept justify it on the ground that it has promoted the unparalleled social and economic progress so frequently described by our American press agents. There has been a tremendous emphasis placed upon learning to make a living rather than learning to live—business in politics, religion, social affairs, and cultural pursuits rather than politics, religion, social service, and cultural outlook in business. Leisure activities to the rugged individualist are, therefore, unrelated to social service. Leisure, to him, means re-creation of his abilities for further occupational achievement. It is quite clear that the American must learn how to use his leisure hours so that they may help him to be both more competent with respect to his individual needs and more competent as a member of the society in which he must live.

PERSONALITY OF YOUTH

In spite of the fact that the concept of personality is not one upon which psychologists, sociologists, and other scientists agree, there is sufficient evidence in the recent literature of these fields to support a treatment of this topic. Educators are coming to realize that each individual has a distinct personality which is the result of his biological heredity and the environment in which he has grown up. No two people have at the same time the same personality,

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and no individual at different times has exactly the same personality. It is apparent that every individual's personality is undergoing constant change as a result of the interaction of the factors which constitute the individual and the factors of an environment which impress themselves upon him.

It is important to recognize that personality, therefore, is a dynamic thing—dynamic because it is constantly changing through the reaction of the physical, mental, and emotional components of the individual to the elements of environment. The emotional nature of the individual is perhaps the most obvious of personality elements. It is largely because of the emotional characteristics of the individual that personality is dynamic. There have been many attempts to classify individuals as to personality, most of such classifications being determined by some relation to the emotional nature of the individual. Any attempt to anchor personality at any moment to a fixed and preconceived pattern is doomed to failure. It is true that sharp or sudden fluctuations in personality do not occur. This is because the biological elements of the individual's nature are subject in their growth to certain definite laws of growth and that the individual's environment changes very gradually. There is evidence that when individuals have been removed from the environment which has nurtured them from birth or early childhood, they frequently develop emotional states or conditions that seriously handicap them in the proper performance of their activities. It is highly important in the education of young people that there be a gradual transition from one type of environment to another in order that the educational influences that make up the curriculum of an

individual shall be carefully selected with respect to grades of difficulty for the individual. It is only through carefully planned individual programs constantly adapted to the needs and interests of the learner in his progress through school that one can hope to develop an integrated personality.

CONCLUSIONS

The youth of America comprise about one-eighth of the total population. They represent a mixed racial, social, and economic group. They are the most dynamic elements of the population, subject to influences that affect the health and general morality of the population. They are partly employed in gainful occupations and partly dependent upon society for support during further education. As individuals in the group, they are extremely varied as to physical, mental, and emotional characteristics. They have strong social interests and tendencies that are essential to the development of a sound democratic society. Their needs vary according to their individual characteristics and purposes and according to the standards of the population elements in which they are found. There is clear evidence of needs in the field of health, performance of practical activities, homemaking, vocation, participation in social and economic life, and a proper use of leisure time. American society demands that its oncoming generations develop integrated personalities capable of functioning in a highly organized and changing social and economic order.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What characteristics distinguish youth from childhood? Youth from adulthood?

2. Prepare a table showing the relative change in total population for the age-groups 1-5, 6-10, 11-15, etc., to 71-75, and over 75, from 1890 to 1930 by ten-year periods. With these data construct a graph and interpret the results.
3. Prepare a graph showing the growth by ten-year periods from 1890 to 1930 of the enrollments in elementary schools, secondary schools and higher institutions. Interpret the results.
4. How does the ratio of adults to non-adults in the population affect educational opportunity? Present evidence to support your statement.
5. How do the needs of youth today differ from the needs of youth in colonial times? Illustrate.
6. What problems of youth today affect the nature of the educational program?
7. What is personality? How is personality modified or developed?
8. What is meant by individual differences? How measured?
9. In what important respects do individuals differ?
10. What are the causes of differences among human beings?
11. What is the importance of individual differences in a democracy?
12. What can the school do with reference to observed or measured differences among individuals?

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CHAPTER III

THE PROGRAM FOR THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

Learning by Doing. Learning takes place through the reactions of the individual to life situations or stimuli in his environment. The more frequently the learner meets certain situations successfully, all other factors being equalized, the more efficient he becomes in the performance of activities required by other similar situations. In order that desirable responses be established, society has set up means for selecting stimuli that will call forth the appropriate responses and develop patterns of behavior acceptable to the society in which the individual must live. The selection and control of the experiences to which the individual is to be exposed is a primary function of educational agencies. The nature of the educational program at any time and place is determined by the peculiar traditions and ideals of the society supporting the program.

The education of youth is largely the process of induction of the individual into full participation in the life of his social groups. It is by means of the educative process that the race has been able to perpetuate itself, thus gradually fusing, as it were, the new elements with the old. It is obvious that the experiences of previous generations serve to a greater or less degree as a guide to the generation in process of growing up. In a static society race experience tends to become fixed in pattern, and each

generation has little need for experience different from those generations that have gone before. Such a condition in society tends to develop a traditional program of education for youth. In contrast to this, a dynamic society cannot develop fixed patterns of behavior to which each successive generation can conform. The changes in environment alone demand solutions to new problems and thereby contribute continuously to race experience. Fixed patterns of behavior are well-nigh impossible; new behavior patterns are in the process of constant reconstruction. It is imperative that the program of education in a dynamic society shall provide each individual growing up to maturity with an understanding of race experience in order that he may interpret his own personal experience. Education of the individual is essentially the process by which the learner constantly interprets and reconstructs his own experience in meeting the problems of a constantly changing environment. The program of secondary education in a democracy in which each new generation is faced with new problems must consist of both theory and practice—the accumulated wisdom of the race and the personal experience gained by contact with the immediate environment and its problems. Fundamentally, learning begins with the immediate individual experience and is enlarged and enriched as it fuses with the accumulated wisdom of the race.

Creative Activity. A constant effort should be made in directing the education of youth to provide as great freedom as possible for individual initiative and creative activity. Any program of education that adheres strictly to the traditional elements of race experience without regard for social changes is likely

to develop a static society. Educational programs should keep abreast of the present needs of the individual and the group. Too much dependence should not be placed upon fixed subject matter representative of the past. There is need always for the leavening elements of individual experience and the activities of the existing social order. The most effective learning situations are those that are similar to the life situations in which the abilities learned are to be used; indeed, the utilization of actual life situations is the ideal whenever economy and circumstance permit. The secondary school is concerned with the induction of the youth into the existing social order, but it should also provide youth with those abilities and powers that will help them to participate in the progressive, intelligent redirection of social change.

RACE EXPERIENCE AND CULTURE

Culture is the cumulative creation of the race and as such represents the best of man's experience in meeting the problems of his environment. Culture endows man with means of communication, with modes of behavior as an individual and in social relations, with interpretations of the phenomena of his natural environment, with instruments for adaptation to, or for the control and use of, environment to promote his well-being. One of the functions that must be performed by every society if it is to continue its existence is that of introducing each new generation to the accumulated experience of the group. The more advanced the group in the scale of civilization, the broader its cultural heritage and the greater the problem of education of each new generation.

Educational Areas. Programs for the education of youth, arising as they have out of the cultural heritage, usually cover certain large areas. In general, these areas are the following:

1. The mother tongue—the language and the literature
2. The social studies—history, civics, economic and social problems
3. The natural sciences—biological and physical, and their applications
4. Mathematics—number and space relationships, and their applications
5. The languages and literatures of foreign peoples—ancient and modern
6. The fine arts—form, color, and sound
7. The practical arts—the application of knowledges and skills to creative efforts in craftsmanship
8. Physical development and well-being
9. Vocational fields—orientation and training

Cultural Heritage. Anyone preparing to participate in the education of youth should have a broad acquaintance with the cultural heritage upon which he must draw if his participation is to be intelligent and skillful. The sources of culture are numerous, and the value of a particular element of culture for the education of a given individual is necessarily determined by the ends to be served. There has been much theorizing as to whether the Latin teacher should teach John or Latin. Unless one is committed to an extreme concept of the transmission of culture as the function of the secondary school, there is but one reasonable point of view: the Latin teacher should direct John in securing such acquaintance with Roman culture as will serve

his educational needs. If, perchance, there is nothing in the conventional offering in Latin or Roman history that will serve John's needs, there is so much more reason for the teacher to have a broad and deep understanding of Roman culture in order that John's needs may not be misinterpreted or overlooked. In much the same manner every teacher in the secondary school, in addition to a broad cultural background, should have a scholarly command of one or more of the great fields of human learning. The individual cannot be understood except in terms of his environment, and for the human being environment includes culture as one of its most important elements.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF FORMAL EDUCATION

Primitive Education. Among primitive peoples the need for training for participation in the activities of the group was limited to small areas of human experience. Most of the instruction necessary to the youth in becoming a member of his tribal group was given more or less informally by the parents, the elders, and other dignitaries of the tribe. New knowledge was added so slowly that provision for formal education was either unnecessary or limited to a short period at or near the time when the individual was to be inducted into membership in the tribe. As tribal life became more complex and as intertribal relationships developed, it became increasingly necessary to provide formal education for those members of the youth group who would be likely to participate as leaders in the tribe. With the invention of the alphabet and the accumulation of records of the achievements of the group, transmission of culture by means of written language

took the place of the oral tradition which had been the chief method of perpetuating human experience. The further development of the use of written languages opened up possibilities of a limitless field of literature, science, customs, traditions, and other accumulated human experience. It did not take long for such peoples as the Babylonians, the Egyptians, and others of the early historic peoples to recognize the necessity for the development of a cultural program for the education of the more intelligent of their youth. Thus with the tools for written language properly mastered, the human race could perpetuate more effectively and distribute more widely its accumulated experience. At this point the needs for formal education became imperative, and schools grew up around the great centers of culture. This is best illustrated in the developments at Alexandria, Babylon, Athens, Rome, and other cultural centers to which great teachers were drawn. The libraries that had been established in these centers provided the written records needed for the work of formal education.

Historic Education. The difference between primitive secondary education and historic secondary education is perhaps largely a difference in the degree of opportunity provided for intellectual growth. All the youth of primitive peoples were compelled to receive secondary education, but the historic peoples, such as the Greeks, early began to limit the opportunity for intellectual secondary education. This was due in some measure to the necessity for abilities to learn through vicarious experience. The primitive program of secondary education was an activities program; the program of the secondary school in the historic period rapidly became a program em-

phasizing abstract and theoretical learning. It was quite natural, therefore, that the secondary-school population should be a selected group, able to learn through means other than their own personal experience. This selective process provided the basis for the development of professional groups, such as the teacher, the physician, the orator, the philosopher. In this way the secondary school became the instrument of a more complex society which would depend for its continued improvement upon specialized groups representing the various professional agencies. During this early period the methods employed in gaining new knowledge were so firmly bound to the practices of primitive man that there was a continued emphasis placed upon man's past experience as a guide to the solution of new problems. Society tended to become static, and, except for a few intellectual progressives of Athens, Western civilization had become standardized under the existing intellectual, social, and economic regime of the early historic period.

Role of Secondary Education. It is quite clear that education, particularly on the levels of elementary and secondary education, has been concerned largely with forming established patterns of behavior. This tendency has been dominant in secondary education throughout the ages, because the secondary school has been the chief instrument of the existing regime for the perpetuation of its social, political, and religious ideals. This formative character of education has tended to reduce the possibilities of individual variation: first, by its processes of selection and, second, by its standardized methods and content. This fact is illustrated in every important civilization past and present. The Eng-

lish "public school" is the chief instrument by which England has developed its leaders and preserved the continuity of English civilization and culture over many centuries; the American high school has become the chief instrument for the perpetuation of American democratic ideals. More recent examples of this use of the secondary school are to be found in Italy, Germany, and Russia. It may be well at this point to raise the question as to the wisdom of a democratic society using the conventional secondary school for such purposes. The very nature of a democratic social order requires a constantly changing educational program. The secondary school must break from its traditional past and render more than the conventional, formal educational service if all American youth are to be appropriately served.

Closely associated with notions of the formative character of secondary education is the old concept of formal discipline. The secondary school program throughout the historic period has been used largely as a discipline. The theory that the human mind is developed through the mastery of systematically organized subject matter and can then be used to perform any type of intellectual activity has long been the basis of the program of general education on the secondary level. It is for this reason that the seven liberal arts have contributed largely to the content of secondary education for fifteen hundred years or more. The fundamental theory of formal education is that as knowledge has increased the individual must be prepared to solve problems by short cuts; the old activity program is wasteful of time. The command of the tools of learning, the development of fixed patterns of conduct, and the general discipline of the mind are the principal concepts

CHANGING CONCEPTION OF THE CURRICULUM

Primitive Educational Program. In a simple society there was little need for classified knowledge or experience. The growth in accumulated knowledge due to the developments cited above required that this knowledge and experience be classified and that the youth of the society be made familiar with this classified knowledge. Any analysis of the details of the program of secondary education among the higher primitive groups reveals the beginnings of classified knowledge and the general outlines of the present program of secondary education. It is significant that among the more advanced groups before the dawn of history, or in primitive groups of the present day who have attained the same level of cultural development, the following attainments were considered essential:

1. The use of the mother tongue
2. A knowledge of the achievements, the customs, and the traditions of the group
3. The ability to use numbers and other means for dealing with space and time relationships
4. An elementary understanding of nature, both of man and of the natural environment
5. Physical development and maintenance of health
6. Some skill in artistic and practical activities
7. Development of musical abilities

There was also an accumulation of knowledge and secrets relative to the few vocations that were essential to the continued existence of the members of the group. This field of vocational training was not a

part of secondary education as developed in the formal program. It is clear that secondary education in its inception was concerned with the individual in his relation to his group. Group ideals and patterns of conduct were the content of the curriculum. Any type of training that pertained to vocational efficiency was considered a matter of greater concern to the individual than to the group. The essential social values of vocations were not recognized except as they might affect other members of the group belonging to the same vocation. In such instances, the vocational group was supported in its demands and regulations by the laws of the larger tribal group.

It has already been pointed out that the primitive program of secondary education was an activity program. It dealt with two aspects of secondary education, the selective and the formative aspects. Selection, however, was broader in the primitive group than in the historic social groups. It is true that there were many practices among primitive peoples that tended to eliminate the undesirable individuals, either by destruction in early life or by elimination of the parents from the status of full citizenship. Primitive peoples not only admitted all the youth belonging to the families of citizens, they actually compelled their attendance at such occasions as constituted their formal secondary education. In some instances when it was revealed that a boy (or girl) was not capable of performing the duties of a responsible member of the group, he was segregated as an incompetent and not admitted to full citizenship. Competence on the part of the individual was determined by a rigorous test or examination following a period of preparation. The period of prep-

eration was analogous to the present period of schooling; the final test or examination, usually consisting of ordeals of one kind or another, was analogous to the final examination required in most modern countries. The entire program was based upon life activities, past and present, of the group concerned. There was much dramatizing of the achievements of the group, and ceremonials aimed to develop attitudes and ideals of behavior necessary for group preservation. The methods employed placed special stress upon self-activity, imitation, observation, and memorization of traditions, folklore, and other accumulated experiences of the group. In general, the program of primitive secondary education covered the fields of learning which are now generally recognized as essential to a complete program of secondary education. It is clear from the examination of this program that the only element of our present secondary-school program not included is the foreign language. It is significant that this neglected element should have become the central element of the secondary-school program for the last fifteen centuries.

Historic Educational Programs. The primitive program of secondary education as implied in the categories listed above was modified when it became more formally organized in the historic period. When the fundamental character of the primitive activity program changed, much of the content of the program was replaced by certain formulated literary elements. The best example of the formal program is the seven liberal arts which included from among the original elements the mother tongue in a highly organized group known as grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic. Arithmetic, geometry, and to

some extent astronomy represented the number, space, and time relations. Astronomy included some elements of man's natural environment, particularly as related to the heavens; and music became a more specialized art related to the church and the theater. Some of the more important elements of the primitive program received little attention. Although the Greeks emphasized physical education, the program of secondary education under the Christian church throughout the Middle Ages not only ignored but actually placed restrictions upon the improvement of the physical and health status of the individual.

The Greek program. The program of the primitive secondary school as sketched above was exceedingly informal as compared with the program of the historic period. Within a short period, comparatively speaking, the program of secondary education of the Greeks became a narrow, intellectual program. It is true that the Greeks emphasized physical education and music, but these elements were given less stress than the grammar and rhetoric which became the core of the curriculum of the rhetorical school. As the intellectual life of Athens became more varied and a group of scholars developed through the support of wealthy patrons of the arts, Athens became the intellectual center of the ancient world. Oratory and writing were the important fields inviting the talents of the selected intellectual groups. Physical and health training, so important in the program of secondary education of Sparta and early Athens, was no longer required in Athens because of the reduced emphasis upon military training. The Olympic games provided opportunity for the exhibition of physical prowess along with the exhibition of art and other cultural contributions of the peoples par-

ticipating. Music likewise was elevated from the lower position which it held in the early historic period and became an art closely associated with literature and to some extent with the physical development through the dance. The increased leisure in Athens contributed largely to the development of games, the theater, and the participation of talented youth in civic affairs. Oratory became the vocation of such youths. Gradually, however, the intellectual life of Athens demanded a higher type of education for youth and there developed under the sponsorship of such men as Plato and Aristotle a higher secondary school known as the philosophical school. The program of this school included much that was contained in the rhetorical school but tended to ignore the vocational purpose emphasized in the rhetorical school. Learning for its own sake and learning as an intellectual discipline represented the ideal of the philosophical school. It is a matter of interest to note that this development continued and resulted in the establishment of what is generally known as the University of Athens.

The Roman program. The conquering of the Greek states by Rome and the transmission of Greek culture and its amalgamation with Roman culture tended to exalt, even in the minds of the practical Romans, the importance of literary elements in culture. When the Romans took over the Athenian contributions, their chief concern was the organization of a system of education. The program became definitely formalized within a few centuries into the secondary-school program known as the seven liberal arts. The steps in the process of development of this program are not entirely clear. There is evidence that a number of other fields, such as agriculture

and medicine, were frequently found in the secondary-school program under the Roman plan. There is evidence, also, that the Romans organized the program into junior and senior divisions. With the development of the orator as its purpose, the lower division of the Roman grammar school emphasized grammar and those of the seven liberal arts related thereto, while the upper division emphasized rhetoric and dialectic as essential in the education of the orator. When Capella, sometime after the beginning of the fourth century, systematized the existing subjects of the secondary-school program, he listed them as follows:

<i>Trivium</i>	Grammar Rhetoric Dialectic (logic)	<i>Quadrivium</i>	Arithmetic Geometry Music Astronomy
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When the Roman empire declined and the Roman church succeeded to the control of education, this secondary-school program became the program for the selection and preparation of church leaders and individuals of lesser talents who might participate in the copying of manuscripts and in performing other routine activities requiring some intellectual ability. Statistics of enrollment in subject fields in the American secondary-school program reveal that at least five of the seven liberal arts still contribute largely to the five most important subjects of the secondary school. The nature of these subjects has changed in many respects, because of the growth in cultural elements, but their influence in formalizing the program into separate subjects still remains.

The Programs of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. During the Middle Ages a program of secondary education not primarily intellectual in

character paralleled the conventional secondary-school program; this was the program of education for chivalry. It stressed chiefly those elements of the primitive program which were largely ignored by the conventional secondary school. Physical activity, some acquaintance with nature, and an increased emphasis upon folklore and music, as well as training in certain social and vocational activities, received chief emphasis. This program of chivalric education led directly to a great revival of interest in formal education. The Crusades, which were made possible through the institution of chivalry, finally led to a revival of interest in Greek and Roman learning. This revival, known as the Renaissance, gave renewed emphasis to intellectual training, and out of it developed the Latin-grammar-school program which transmitted to modern times and to the New World the intellectual remnants of the seven liberal arts.

An early effort to modify the traditional program of secondary education came with the Renaissance when Vittorino da Feltre in 1423 established the first modern school at Mantua. The program of this school ignored to a large extent the conventional program and introduced many of the elements of the primitive program of secondary education. It emphasized participation in activities of life closely related to the intellectual and social affairs surrounding the court life of the Italian cities. Physical education and games were once more introduced into the program after an absence of a thousand years. There was no lack of emphasis upon the intellectual development of youth, but such emphasis was directed toward mastery of those elements that would contribute definitely to more intelligent participa-

tion in the life which the individual would lead. There was less of the emphasis on education as discipline that had been so prominent in the old school. The influence of the church through the monastic and cathedral schools prevented any great change in the conventional secondary-school program.

The Latin-grammar-school program. From the period of the Renaissance to the middle of the eighteenth century, the chief elements of the secondary-school program were Latin, Greek, and occasionally Hebrew, with the major emphasis placed upon grammar. This is shown clearly by the establishment in 1538 of the first German *Gymnasium* by Johann Stürm. The program of this school, as shown in Table 1, provided the model for the modern Latin grammar school and showed none of the effects of the Renaissance that were so evident in the school of Vittorino da Feltre. It represented, perhaps, an improved form of the medieval Latin school, but failed to recognize the importance of education for life needs. This program had a similar development in England in the rise of the grammar school at about the same period.

The Latin-grammar-school program emphasized to some extent the teaching of religion according to the established church. When the Puritan reformation broke in England, a new program was proposed by the leaders of the Puritan regime. Practically the only changes in the program were those made in the details of religious training and in the emphasis upon play. As this Puritan Latin grammar school was transmitted to America, it contained all the essential elements of the program in England as set up by the nonconforming clergy in the "academies" which they established. One significant departure is

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TABLE 1. PROGRAM OF STRASBURG GYMNASIUM (1565)¹

TENTH CLASS

Latin reading, writing, Latin grammar German catechism.

NINTH CLASS

Latin grammar, Latin vocabulary. Reading of Latin.

EIGHTH CLASS

Review of previous work in Latin. Latin grammar—parts of speech, declensions, and conjugations completed. Exercises in writing Latin. Reading of Cicero's *Letters*.

SEVENTH CLASS

Review of previous work in Latin. Latin syntax, based on Cicero. Reading of Cicero's *Letters*. Exercises in style. German catechism to be translated into classical Latin.

SIXTH CLASS

Continued practice in use of Latin previously learned. Read Cicero's longer *Letters*. Poetical selections from Bishop Ambrose, Martial and Horace. Reading of letters of Hieronymus. Translation of catechism. Greek.

FIFTH CLASS

Latin vocabulary based on unknown objects. Meter in Latin poetry. Mythology. Reading of Cicero's *Cato* and *Laelius* and Virgil's *Eclogues*. Greek vocabulary and reading. Verse writing. Examples of eloquence to be translated into German and re-translated into Latin. Reading of Pauline epistles.

FOURTH CLASS

Drill on what has been learned in Latin and Greek grammar. Practice on style. Reading selections from Cicero, Horace's epistles and satires. Greek grammar and "Book of Examples." Reading of Pauline epistles.

THIRD CLASS

Extend range of studies. Begin rhetoric—Herennius' treatise presented and reading of speech for Cluentius. Reading and memorizing Pauline epistles, Demosthenes, *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Translation of orations, etc., from Greek into Latin or from Latin into Greek. Changing *Odes* of Pindar and Horace into different meter. Comedies of Terence and Plautus to be acted.

SECOND CLASS

Literal interpretation of Greek and Latin poets and orators, oratorical and poetic usage. Common-place book to contain striking passages. Logic introduced. Rhetoric continued by studying *Institutes* of Herennius as a textbook. Reading of selections from Demosthenes and Cicero. Exercises in style. Writing of dissertations for oral delivery. Reading and memorization.

¹ Barnard: *American Journal of Education*, Vol. IV, pp. 170-182.

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ing of Epistle to the Romans. Acting of comedies of Terence and Plautus, also plays of Aristophanes, Euripides or Sophocles.

FIRST CLASS

Logic and rhetoric to be extended as illustrated by Demosthenes and Cicero. Reading from Virgil and Homer. Translation of Thucydides and Sallust. Dramatic presentations. Practice in writing and declamation. Expounding Epistles of Saint Paul.

well illustrated in the program of the Boston Latin School as compared with the program of the schools of the Southern colonies. No provision was made in the New England Latin grammar school for sports and other student activities, while in the South, however, where the influence came from the Latin grammar schools of the established church, definite provision was made for sports and other activities of the student. These variations represent the effects of religious movements growing out of the Renaissance and the Reformation. There is little evidence available to indicate the exact character of the Latin-grammar-school program in America before the end of the eighteenth century. From the bits of evidence that are available, it consisted of a four- or five-year program made up entirely of Latin and Greek and occasionally Hebrew. In some instances when the Latin-grammar-school master was able to do so, he taught arithmetic and other common English subjects before and after the opening of the regular school. These common English branches were generally not open to Latin-grammar-school pupils but to girls or other pupils who were not following the regular program. The earliest authentic program of an American Latin grammar school available is the one offered at the Boston Latin School about 1789 as shown in Table 2.

The history of American secondary education reveals that the Latin grammar school was never a

TABLE 2. PROGRAM OF THE BOSTON LATIN SCHOOL (1789)²

FIRST CLASS

Cheever's *Accidence*. Corderius's *Colloquies*—Latin and English. *Nomenclator*. Aesop's *Fables*—Latin and English. Ward's *Latin Grammar* or Eutropius.

SECOND CLASS

Clarke's *Introduction*—Latin and English. Ward's *Latin Grammar*. Eutropius, continued *Selectae e Veteri Testamento Historiae*, or, Castilio's *Dialogues*. The making of Latin, from Garretson's *Exercises*.

THIRD CLASS

Caesar's *Commentaries*. Tully's *Epistles*, or *Offices*. Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Virgil. Greek Grammar. The making of Latin from King's *History of the Heathen Gods*.

FOURTH CLASS

Virgil, continued Tully's *Orations*. Greek Testament. Horace. Homer. *Gradus ad Parnassum*. The making of Latin continued.

popular institution because it was essentially an importation and emphasized education for the needs of an older social order. It developed with doubtful success during the first three quarters of a century in the American colonies. This period represents the influence of the pioneer Puritan minister who practically dominated the religious, political, social, and cultural life of New England. With the decline of the New England theocracy and the rise of a native-born nonchurch leadership, the demand for educational agencies suited to a pioneer community could not be long suppressed.

The Modern Program. The tendency for people to live in large social groups and to become more or less dependent upon each other led to specialization of labor and an increase in the number of new occupations. Entrance into such occupations was regulated by those most concerned, and the result was

² Grizzell, E. D.: *Origin and Development of the High School in New England before 1865*, p. 12. Quoted from *Catalogue of the Boston Public Latin School, Established in 1635* (1886), pp. 286 f.

the development of trade guilds and other such labor-control groups. They emphasized the necessity for long periods of training through apprenticeship. They also encouraged the establishment of schools for their children that provided a program of education of a more practical character. Some of them, to be sure, founded schools of the traditional type in order that their children might have the same intellectual opportunities as those enjoyed by wealthier and more favored social groups. This movement is exemplified in the foundation of schools in England by the merchant-tailors, the fishmongers and other similar vocational groups, and some of these schools have become exclusive and aristocratic in their later days. Any significant variation from the traditional disciplinary program of secondary education was due to changes in social and economic life. Occasionally a new program was set up to meet new needs, and if these needs continued, the program became established and took on something of the formality of the traditional program. The first contribution to a new type of secondary education in America was made by Benjamin Franklin and his associates in the establishment of the *Philadelphia Publick Academy*, opened in 1751. Franklin's *Proposals for the Education of Youth in Pensilvania* set forth a new concept of secondary education suited to the needs of the new world. The provisions in this program, as shown in Table 3, included among other things, English, modern languages, science, and mathematics. The purpose of the program, as set forth in the *Proposals*, clearly indicated the need for education in closer relation to the lives of the people. This school, being an independent establishment, did not meet the needs of the new country

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for public education, and consequently in 1820 the people of Boston, particularly those who were not profiting by the education offered in the Latin grammar school, petitioned the School Committee to establish a school for boys that corresponded to the

TABLE 3. PROGRAM OF PHILADELPHIA PUBLICK ACADEMY (1751)*

Reading	Natural History
Writing	Mechanicks
Arithmetick	History—Greek and Roman including Geography, Chronology, Antient Customs, Religious and Civil, Morality.
Accounts	
Drawing	
English Grammar and Literature	
Composition and Letter-writing	Universal History
Declamation	Latin
Logic and Debating	Greek
Geometry	French
Astronomy	Spanish

typical academy. This school, with the three-year program as indicated in Table 4, was first known as the English Classical School and was opened in May, 1821 for boys of the ages twelve to fifteen.

A comparison of this program with that of the Boston Latin School and the program of a typical academy of the day, Phillips Exeter, reveals that the academy offered two programs, one of which, known as the classical program, was almost identical with the Latin-grammar-school program, and the other, the English program, was almost identical with the program of the Boston English Classical School of 1821. The development of the English high school was restricted very largely to New Eng-

* [Franklin, Benjamin]. *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania*, pp. 11-30.

land. Its popularity was so great, however, that it soon overshadowed the Latin grammar school, and by 1840 it was a common practice in the New England towns to combine the English high school and the Latin grammar school into one institution with two programs, an English program and a classical program. From that time on, the American high school spread rapidly in competition with the private academy. It had a dual purpose, generally recognized as preparation for life and preparation for college. Throughout the middle half of the nineteenth century the public high school was compelled to face the criticism of taxpayers and advocates of private schools and justify its existence as an extension of the common school. The Kalamazoo Case of 1874 is perhaps the best known of the legal battles

TABLE 4. PROGRAM OF THE ENGLISH CLASSICAL SCHOOL (1821)*

FIRST YEAR

English, arithmetic, and geography. [English included reading, literature, composition, and declamation]

SECOND YEAR

English, mathematics, history, and logic. [English included the same branches as in the first year; mathematics included algebra, geometry, trigonometry, and applied mathematics, as navigation and surveying; history included ancient and modern history and chronology.]

THIRD YEAR

English, mathematics, history, natural science, and philosophy. [English, mathematics, and history included the same as for the preceding year; philosophy included logic and moral and political philosophy.]

decided in favor of the public high school. In this decision the high school justified the offering of foreign languages in its program at public expense.

By 1890 the public-high-school program, as well

* Report of Boston School Committee, 1821.

as the programs of the remaining Latin grammar schools and other standard secondary schools of the academy type, had become formalized to such an extent that need for reorganization was being discussed in national meetings and in various progressive groups throughout the country. As a result of the agitation by educational leaders, including President Eliot of Harvard, the Committee of Ten of the National Education Association submitted a report in 1893. The main accomplishment of this committee was a standardization of the program of secondary education. Instead of pointing the way to a reorganization of the program to meet the needs of a rapidly changing industrial society, it tended to consolidate the conservative elements drawn from three quarters of a century of practice and further to justify the continued agitation for reform which began with the development of the junior high school and the junior college within the next decade. These sporadic efforts to improve the program of secondary education in various localities resulted in the appointment of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education by the National Education Association in 1912. The Commission issued a series of reports dealing with the several subject fields and the general principles underlying the reorganization of secondary education. The *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* set forth the philosophy of secondary education that became a motivating force in reform. Instead of the two aims that had been dominant in the development of the public high school throughout the nineteenth century—preparation for college and preparation for life—the *Cardinal Principles* proposed seven objec-

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tives as the basis for the program of the reorganized secondary school.

Stimulated by the recommendations of the several reports of the Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education and by a number of other professional agencies composed of teachers in the several fields of mathematics, the classics, and the modern languages, the early years of the past decade witnessed the beginning of a nation-wide study of the secondary-school curriculum. This general attack on the problem has tended to break down the traditional barriers to curriculum adjustment in terms of the learner's needs. Consequently it would be quite impossible to find a *typical* secondary-school program at the present time. Even the conventional terminology used in designating the different so-called curricula has lost its meaning. The college preparatory curriculum is as variable as the college admission requirements, and the vocational curricula vary with the peculiar needs of young people in any American community.

Reasons for Changing Program. The major influences causing change in the program of secondary education have been:

1. The increase in complexity of the social and economic aspects of society
2. The development of written language
3. The development of centers of culture
4. The rise of strong control groups, such as the Roman empire, the Roman church, and the modern state
5. The intellectual revival and tendencies
6. The scientific movement
7. The developments in social philosophy

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8. Inventions and discovery
9. Improvements in transportation and communication
10. The wider distribution of wealth
11. Political freedom of submerged classes
12. The increased knowledge of the individual through developments in biology, psychology, sociology, and related sciences
13. The development of the profession of teaching and related educational work

It seems evident that the changes that have taken place in the secondary school program since primitive times have reflected at every stage the influence of the social and economic factors in society. It appears over and over again that when society recognizes a fundamental weakness, the aim in secondary education is modified to give particular attention to this weakness. Definite provisions are then made to realize the new aim, either through the establishment of new types of schools or in the reform of the program of existing schools. It has been pointed out that the result of the effort to formalize the program of secondary education has been to lessen the articulation of this program with the life activities of the pupils; the school has continuously tended to separate itself from the activities of daily life. This tendency has prevailed partly because of the restricted functions of the secondary school; it has been limited in its service to a select group set apart to become the leaders of the existing regime. With the rise of democratic societies demanding an educated citizenship and a great variety of qualified leadership, the traditional conception of secondary education has become less satisfactory. American

democracy, being theoretically a government by all the people, must guarantee secondary education to all the people. Apparently America is rapidly returning to the type of program of secondary education common to primitive societies.

THE ACTIVITIES OF YOUTH AS SECONDARY EDUCATION

Consideration has been given to race experience as the traditional means of educating youth. There are several reasons why a program of education constituted entirely of race experience is not sufficient for the education of all the youth of a modern community. In the first place, there is a natural desire on the part of each individual for personal experience, and vicarious experience is frequently ineffective although accepted willingly. In many instances the necessity for compelling acceptance of curricular offerings, as practiced in the conventional secondary-school program, sets up emotional reactions and states of mind that result in negative outcomes. In the second place, learning from the experience of others is extremely difficult for a large percentage of the human race. Individuals of lower mental abilities rarely are able to learn by short cuts aimed at the mastering of general principles to be applied later in practical situations. Almost all their real learning is the result of practice in innumerable life situations. Consequently the individuals who can learn from race experience are limited to the higher mental levels and constitute that small select intellectual group generally provided with the opportunities of secondary education in foreign countries. In the third place, the rapidly changing social and economic conditions of the modern world have ren-

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dered less valuable a considerable portion of the accumulated experience of the race. The individual of the twentieth century is living in a very different environment from that of the individual of the fourth century B.C. or the fifteenth century A.D. In fact, American youth have within a generation transcended the simple agrarian life of their fathers and are now enmeshed in a complex industrial order. It is quite clear that of necessity American young people of today must solve new problems that never faced their fathers' generation. This obviously suggests that the experiences of the youth of today must constitute a greater part of the program of secondary education, and there is need for increasing emphasis upon the fact that race experience helps the youth to interpret his own experience in solving the problems of living in the twentieth century.

SELF-ACTIVITY AND EDUCATION

The education of an individual involves a continuous and progressive reconstruction and interpretation of experience. It has been pointed out that this experience is both personal and vicarious. In the case of the latter type of experience, it is valuable as education only to the extent that it is relived by the learner. The dramatic masterpiece is valuable to the learner only to the extent that he can become one or more of the *dramatis personae* or characters in the play. In other words, the drama is only effective as *material* for education when it is used as a means of portrayal of character and of human emotions and of interpretations of human behavior in life situations. To be sure, there are individuals with special interests who find such race experience of

great stimulation for intellectual and emotional growth. The essential consideration, however, is that the learner be active, that he be the performer of the part or, if he is a spectator, that he be able to imagine himself in the player's role or that he be sympathetic with the player in his role. This point of view recognizes the psychophysical basis of learning. It recognizes that the stimuli of the environment tend to effect desirable reactions on the part of the individual. The educational program must recognize the reactions desired and must provide the environmental situations that will stimulate these reactions. The laws of learning require that stimuli set up shall be suited to the stage of growth of the individual, that the effect of the response to stimuli shall be appropriate, either pleasant or unpleasant, and that there shall be sufficient opportunity for practice to result in the desired mastery. It is important also that there be as much variety of experience as possible in order that the law of association may be most effective in the integration of the total educational experience. This principle of self-activity is important with respect to the individualizing of educational programs. Responses to identical stimuli by different individuals are always different, due to the fact that the past experiences of each individual have been different and have had the effect of producing different backgrounds for the interpretation of each new experience. There is no simple stimulus-response formula, because the external stimulus is always modified by the individual's past experience before he reacts in his unique way.

NATURE OF THE ACTIVITIES OF YOUTH

Influence of Environment. In general, the activities of youth are conditioned by his environment,

and many of these activities are not of the type that may be considered significant in adult life. There are activities that are the direct result of selected environments in which young people live. Some types of environments which are peculiar to youth are home, neighborhood, school, church (particularly the young people's groups), and certain organized larger community activities such as the Scouts, boys' and girls' clubs, and other similar organizations sponsored by adults. Mention should be made also of certain unsponsored youth activities, generally known as "gangs," which in large population centers have become a serious menace to society. Such activities of youth frequently lead to criminal offenses and the necessity of transferring the offender from normal social life to institutions for correctional and educational purposes.

Home life. The activities of home life for the American youth vary according to the social and economic status of the family and according to the type of community in which they live. The typical home life of the early nineteenth century was that of the farm home with the large family of all ages. The youth living in such home surroundings felt a certain responsibility for the maintenance of the home. Individual opportunity for education and for general improvement in living conditions was attained only through the cooperative activity of the family group, it being a common practice for a bright or "bookish" brother or sister to be sent by the family through secondary school and college. With the swift changes due to the growth of urban centers, the simple community life of the home in which work was essential for all members changed to a community life of the home in which only the

adult members assumed work responsibilities. With the decrease in the birth rate, the non-adult members of the family were reduced in proportion to the number of adults and were freed from the joint responsibility of maintaining the home as in earlier days. This change has had a significant effect upon the youth of America; their activities have shifted from work activities to a species of play activity intermingled with schoolwork. Even the work of the school is for many young people unsuited to their needs. The motive which prompted strenuous efforts to gain an education in earlier days is almost totally lacking among a large majority of American youth. It should be noted also that the shift of the home from country to city has in large measure changed the setting of the home as a social institution. The quiet atmosphere of the country home is not a characteristic of the city home, and the constant distraction of the neighborhood activities interferes with any continuous and independent home life. Many homes make little provision for the social life of the young people within the home itself, preferring to depend upon community institutions such as the school, the church, the moving-picture theater, and organizations catering to young people. The home is further interrupted in its activities by the long vacation periods which take large numbers of families to vacation spots, to summer camps, or to the broad highways. These activities are all foreign to the home of a generation ago, and they have brought about a fundamental change in the interests and needs of young people.

Neighborhood life. The activities of neighborhood life of youth today are more closely interwoven than ever before in the history of this country. They lack,

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however, certain characteristics of earlier days when the neighborhood of the country or village was a more continuous unit than it is at the present time. The people of the old neighborhood were neighbors of long standing, while neighborhoods today are made up of people who are mere acquaintances. There is no continuity to the lives of the people constituting the neighborhood; in most instances they are conscious of one another chiefly because of proximity of apartments or dwellings, because of pleasant or unpleasant associations of children of the neighbor families, or because of common interest in some immediate neighborhood problem. There is a tendency also to ignore Robert Frost's homely philosophy as expressed in his poem entitled "Good Fences Make Good Neighbors," to disregard private property and the privacy of the home. This naturally provides a background for neighborhood activities on the part of the young people that has possibilities very different from the activities of the neighborhoods of the earlier days. With proper direction, such neighborhood setting might yield great educational opportunities. It should promote the development of a broader acquaintance of peoples of different cultural and social backgrounds. It should contribute to the disappearance of provincialism and intolerance. It should provide greater variety of educational experience to the young people of the present generation.

School life. The school activities of young people today as compared with those of a generation ago are a study in contrasts. The rural and village school of 1890 was a small school to which all the children went when they could be spared from the work of the farm. The only activity considered significant

was that of lesson learning. The play life of children and youth was unorganized and was more in the nature of the free play of young animals. There were occasional departures from the classroom routine, such as spelling matches, Friday-afternoon exercises, and occasional evening socials for the purpose of raising money for the school library or for special equipment in the school. The school was not a social center, in spite of the fact that it was the center of interest of the entire community. Even in the larger communities where public high schools existed, the activities outside the classroom were only tolerated if they existed at all. The literary society and occasionally the school paper were the organizations that were most generally acceptable in the nineteenth-century secondary school. Athletic activities and even musical activities, such as the orchestra, were distracting influences; student government had an unsavory reputation; and most of the other activities that are crowded into the modern secondary school had not yet been invented. A similar condition existed in the boarding school and the independent day school, although it is true that occasionally a boarding school would attempt to develop an activities program more in keeping with the interests of young people; but generally the headmaster and the faculty dominated the situation. It is a little difficult to understand why a halo has been placed around the old-fashioned school when we consider the lack of provision for the normal activities of young people of the period.

A day in any modern secondary school would present to the observer a decidedly interesting contrast. It is appropriate that the secondary school, of all the social institutions, should recognize the peculiar

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needs and interests of American youth. Every type of activity found in social life has a counterpart in the program of the secondary school:

1. Activities for school control
2. Activities for physical and health development
3. Activities providing experience in oral expression
4. Activities providing experience in written expression
5. Activities providing for musical interests
6. Activities providing for the development of practical skills
7. Activities providing for extension of intellectual interests
8. Activities providing for altruistic and welfare interests
9. Activities providing for a variety of individual hobbies and special interests
10. Activities providing for purely social interests where conventional behavior may be developed
11. Activities concerned with the maintenance of high intellectual standards.

It should be noted also that in the formal school program the classwork has been modified to such an extent that even that is a type of activity rather than a formal lesson-learning procedure. All these activities, when properly administered, place their emphasis upon the interests and needs of young people living in a community of young people. They are encouraged and stimulated by a small group of adults who recognize first of all the importance of the period of youth. They believe that if youth is lived abundantly adulthood will take care of itself. Student life in the secondary school is not essen-

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tially a period of preparation for another world; it is important in itself, and efficient participation in life as an adult demands efficient participation in life as a youth.

The criticism is frequently made that the school fails to recognize the difficulties of transfer of training to the solution of problems of after-school life. No doubt this criticism is often true, and many schools are attempting to articulate the school life of the youth with the community life of the youth. Many of the activities mentioned above provide to some extent for close contact with community life. A great deal has been done in the planning of the formal school program so that it is no longer a series of lesson-learning tasks. It is organized in such a manner as to direct the student in his study of community life through direct contact with existing community institutions and resources. In such a program every community agency affording educational experience to young people is utilized as a means of education. Among such institutions and other resources are the libraries, museums, commercial, industrial and other occupations, parks and playgrounds, scientific and technical institutions, social-service agencies, governmental agencies, elements of the environment, historical and natural, that may be used for enlarging the scope of the school program.

Community life. There are many activities in every community that are provided specifically for young people. Social-service agencies, the church, and various youth organizations have been set up with the view to providing the opportunity for a more wholesome life for young people. Most of these

activities are in the nature of provisions for leisure time. They have a large element of play with as small an element of work as possible. It is true that some of these organizations have set goals of service which have real significance in the development of youth. American society is just becoming conscious of the fact that work as a means of developing responsibility in youth is increasingly difficult to provide. For generations, boys have been urged to work during their spare time and develop habits of thrift because idleness has been considered a major vice. It is highly important that communities find a satisfactory substitute for the old work policy. It is not sufficient to provide "busy work" in the form of purposeless play activities. The most important problem confronting communities, particularly large population centers, is that of controlling through sound educational programs the undirected gang tendencies of large numbers of idle youths. The conventional youth movement in America at the present time lacks a definite program largely because the youth of America have grown up with more freedom, greater protection, and greater opportunities for realizing youth interests and desires.

UTILIZING LIFE ACTIVITIES FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES

A sound policy for the provision of a complete program for the education of youth must recognize that many agencies and forces contribute to this end. The school is only one of these agencies and its chief contribution is perhaps the provision for formal education, the main content of which is race experience. It has been shown, however, that race experi-

ence alone cannot serve as a basis for real education and that the individual's own personal experience in activities of the present day is essential for the completion of the educational process. It is suggested that in addition to the conventional function performed by the school, and because of the professional qualifications of the members of the school staff, a new function should be assigned to the school. This new function, for the want of a better term, is designated the coordinating function in education. The activities involved in this new function would be concerned with the initiation of an educational program in which every agency of the community would cooperate in the education of youth.

The school's responsibility for coordinating the community-life activity and the formal school activities should be fully recognized. It is at this point that the professional knowledge of the trained educator is essential. It is important to note that the articulation of school and community activities is likely to be reduced in its effectiveness if too much dependence is placed upon the centering of those activities within the school plant. One of the weaknesses of educational programs in preparation for vocations, citizenship, and leisure time has been the provision of this education in the school rather than in community agencies that provide the normal setting and environment for the life activity. The school tends to standardize its program in terms of classroom programs. In doing this the transfer of the abilities learned in school to the activities of life becomes increasingly difficult. Articulation of an educational program consisting partly of formal education and partly of present-day experience is best

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accomplished when the actual life situation is preserved throughout the learning process.

FACTORS DETERMINING THE PROGRAM OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

Cultural Traditions. An understanding of the nature of the program of secondary education requires that the factors determining the program be examined in some detail. The discussion in this and previous chapters reveals the influences of cultural traditions upon the program of secondary education. In addition to the contributions of the culture of the group itself there are those cultural contributions from which they have drawn their institutions, customs, and traditions. The cultural traditions of America are largely those of Western Europe modified to some extent by the peculiar contributions of the American pioneer society. It has been shown that the major elements of the cultural heritage of America come from northwestern Europe, particularly the British Isles. These cultural elements have played a strong role in the determination of the program of American secondary education.

Social and Economic Forces. Perhaps it should be noted that the strength of these cultural traditions has been waning for a long time, due to the force of conflicting influences inherent in the American environment. A study of the tendencies in American secondary education, as reflected in the program at successive stages in its development, reveals the increasing influence of social and economic forces. America has changed from an agrarian society to a highly complex industrial society within a period of less than a century. This change has been followed

by a similar change in the content and purpose of the secondary-school program. Not only does the content of the program reflect the peculiar elements of the existing society, but its organization and spirit reveal a similar influence.

National Ideals. The national ideals of a people further determine the character of a program of secondary education. Democracy's high school is an example of the close relation of the American high school to the democratic ideals of the American people. The program of secondary education as developed in France reflects the ideal of cultural leadership to which the French nation aspires. Similarly the program of secondary education in Italy reflects the Fascist ideal of Italy as the conservator of the Greek and Roman traditions. In like manner, the program of secondary education of any people embodies the ideals of the people as a national group.

Philosophy of Education. Modern secondary education is constantly influenced by the theories and practices in other countries. It is through constant comparison and criticism of the program of secondary education in light of a philosophy of education that secondary education has meaning for its people. The history of education reveals the impossibility of any people's adopting the institutions of another people. It shows clearly that an educational program is largely the result of experience in inventing and borrowing and adapting ideas to the peculiar needs of the people. This procedure is essentially the procedure of building a philosophy of education.

Educational Leadership. A factor in the continuous development of the program of secondary education that becomes of increasing importance in any

society is that of educational leadership. No nation is likely to build wisely without sound constructive leadership. Programs of education do not just grow up, they must be directed in their growth. This is particularly true in a rapidly changing social order. Unless there is good leadership, the school becomes a derelict drifting with the shifting influences that constitute the political forces in society. The program of secondary education is the result of all these forces. No one of them can be ignored in an analysis of the factors that determine it.

CONCLUSIONS

The program of secondary education in America consists of two essential elements: first, the conventional formal program, and second, the program of youth activities. These two programs have important contributions to make to the total program for the education of youth. The established formal program represents chiefly the race experience by means of which each new generation is fused with the social group as a whole. This process of fusion is best accomplished when the learner is aided, by means of the accumulated wisdom of the race, to interpret and reconstruct his own personal experiences.

The program of secondary education began, among primitive people, as an activity program and became formalized and intellectualized as the race accumulated and recorded more extensive ranges of experience. The program of secondary education tends to conserve the cultural traditions and to promote the development of a static society. Other forces growing out of social and economic conditions tend to inject new elements into the program. This

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latter tendency is particularly noticeable in a dynamic social order.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Prepare a list of abilities essential to effective living that require "learning by doing." Are there any important abilities that can be mastered without the learner's being active?
2. What is the relation of culture to human needs?
3. What are the major areas of human activity?
4. What is the difference between education through undirected participation in life activities and directed education in school?
5. To what extent has the American program of secondary education been influenced by European practice?
6. How are aims in education determined?
7. Trace the development of aims or objectives in American secondary education. Account for changes that have occurred.
8. Why has it been necessary for the American program of secondary education to change since the seventeenth century? Present definite evidence.
9. How have new elements been introduced into the American secondary-school program?
10. Compare the programs of the Latin grammar school, the academy and the early high school. In what respects are they alike? In what respects are they different?
11. Trace the development of any subject in the American secondary-school program. What influences caused it to change?
12. Are "extra-curricular" activities justified? Explain your point of view.
13. Select a secondary school with which you are well acquainted and evaluate its present program in terms of its relation to community needs.
14. Prepare a paper showing why the formal program and the activities of school and community should be inter-related in a program of education for American youth.

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CHAPTER IV

THE CURRICULUM AND INTEGRATION OF EXPERIENCE

Human beings develop their physical, mental, and emotional characteristics best when confronted with real rather than artificial situations. A problem in its natural setting is generally more quickly recognized and stimulates greater interest and effort toward its solution than does a problem removed from its setting. Moreover, the outcome is a unified or integrated response to a life situation, not merely a response to an abstraction. The human being, as a general rule, does not go about making partial and unrelated responses to environmental stimuli; his responses run in a coordinated series which all together produce a pattern of behavior. Unless the true relation of experience to the learning process and learning outcome is recognized, there is danger of reducing education to fixed and systematic abstract learning. The extremely bright learner may ultimately succeed in transferring his learning outcomes, attained by the processes of abstract learning, but the great majority of young people are incapable of learning in this manner. Extreme emphasis upon formal subject matter to the neglect of the use of practical learning situations renders integration of experience almost impossible and in the end tends to eliminate from the educational program as "fads and frills" some of the most vital educational opportunities of young people. It is quite clear

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also that any separation of these two elements of experience will prevent the proper articulation of the school life and the community life of the youth; a condition that will reduce the possibility of transfer of abilities thus developed to use in practical life.

CONCEPTS OF CURRICULUM

Confusion of Terms. There are various concepts of curriculum to be found in educational literature. In general, the term curriculum is used to designate *the total offering of the formal work of the school*. This concept is due to the fact that the secondary-school curriculum has been viewed in the past as a more or less sacred offering handed down by all-wise educational fathers, and any departures from the traditional offering have generally been viewed with suspicion and alarm. Departures have been made in the past to meet the needs of new groups of learners, and in due course of time they have been accepted as optional curriculums or as extensions of the conventional curriculum. In this way the comprehensive secondary school in this country developed its multiple curriculum, thereby attempting to meet the needs of different groups of young people—the members of each group having a common purpose. In recent years the concept of curriculum has been expanded in detail until it has gradually come to mean *the complete description of work to be covered, with objectives and methods of learning and teaching*.

Terms Redefined. Before continuing with the discussion, it seems desirable and necessary that a more accurate and a more defensible concept of curriculum be presented as a basis for the discussion in this chapter. In order that the present confusion of terms be avoided the total educational offering recognized

by the school is here characterized as *the educational program of the school*, and any part of that offering appropriate to the educational needs of the individual learner is designated as *a curriculum*. It is the function of the social group to determine the ideals to be attained and in general to provide the means for their attainment. But in view of the specialized nature of the task of selecting, organizing, and adapting the elements of the curriculum to the learner's needs, none but the professional experts, the teacher, and other professional personnel are competent to perform this service. It is for these experts to choose those elements of experience that are best suited to stimulate a particular individual's continuous development. The curriculum is interpreted here as *the sum total of experiences necessary to the development in the individual of an efficient social personality*. This conception of curriculum implies that a program of education for the youth of a community will include provisions for as many curriculums as there are individual youths to be educated. It should be recognized, however, that these curriculums may be readily grouped according to common purposes of groups of young people. For example, a considerable number of young people in any community may have for their further educational goal the continuance of their education in a liberal-arts college; others may have as their objective education for engineering; and still others, education for occupational activities in commerce and industry. Individuals in groups with a common purpose will be served by a more or less common educational program, but within each of these groups there will be need for variation according to individual interests and needs. It must be recognized

that the school can, and perhaps should, contribute only such part of the elements of the total curriculum of the individual as is not provided to better advantage by other agencies.

Coordinated Programs. It is further recognized that the curriculum for the education of youth is not, and should not be, unrelated to the curriculum for childhood and the curriculum for adulthood, but it should be an integral part of the entire curriculum for the education of the individual. If there is to be a full and free development of personality, the growth of the individual must be continuous through childhood, through youth, and into adulthood. The secondary school or other agency concerned with the education of youth must discover the characteristics and abilities, including the peculiar needs of each individual upon entering secondary education, in order that the curriculum may continue to serve his growth processes until his needs and interests have been satisfied. If formal education beyond the period of youth is necessary, the agencies concerned with this education must carry on in a manner that will guarantee the full flowering of personality. This concept of curriculum recognizes in each individual a distinct personality whose continuous growth must be directed toward personally desirable and socially acceptable ends.

YOUTH, SOCIETY, AND THE CURRICULUM

The function of all social institutions is primarily that of making it possible for the individual to live in his environment—of harmonizing the individual and society. No individual can live fully and successfully and realize his best self if he is constantly out of harmony with the society in which he lives. Un-

less he be an extreme individualist, he can best realize his ideals through efficient social participation. The individual and the society, or rather the societies of which he is a member, are interdependent and complementary. The individual is the progressive factor, and the group is the conservative factor; both factors are necessary to continuous human progress. If this point of view is accepted by educational agencies, it is necessary that each individual be provided with opportunities for development that will recognize the complementary relationship of the individual and the group. The means of attaining this goal is a curriculum. A curriculum as defined above, presenting life situations as both stimuli and opportunities for learning, promotes an integration of the experience of man, the race, and the experience of man, the individual, in his present reaction to his environment. Such provision for directing the development of the individual toward the ideal social personality must be determined by the needs and interests of the individual and the demands of the social groups in which he must participate.

DETERMINATION OF OBJECTIVES

It is necessary that the needs and interests of the youth of the community and the demands of society be studied and analyzed in sufficient detail to determine what are the major objectives to be achieved in the education of youth. The problem is one of first discovering what human beings are expected to do to live happily in their society or in the particular realms of society to which they aspire; for although the individual's ability to participate in these activities is limited only by his native endowment, whether he will participate in any phase of human

activity is determined by his interests and his willingness to meet the demands of society. The areas of human activities in which every normal human being is likely to participate may be designated as follows:

1. Activities concerned with the development and maintenance of one's own personal well-being
2. Activities concerned with earning a living
3. Activities concerned with one's general social and civic relations and responsibilities
4. Activities concerned with the development of individual cultural and recreational interests.

Other categories of human activities have been proposed, but they all tend to fall into these general areas. The educational program must recognize the needs of youth for abilities that will make possible effective participation in these several types of human activity. It is not sufficient, however, to plan in terms of these four major areas; it is necessary to take each of these areas as the basis for further analysis into specific abilities needed for effective participation in these activities. For example, the area represented by activities concerned with one's own personal well-being must recognize the objectives of physical and health development, the objectives of mental and emotional growth, and, within each of these, more specific objectives to be attained through both race and individual experience. In the second area of human activities, a detailed analysis of vocational objectives varying with the nature of the vocation is necessary for each individual. In like manner, a detailed analysis of the activities of social relationships and of leisure activities is required. Although there should be desirable overlapping in

some instances, each of these objectives should be given proper recognition according to the stage of maturity of the individual and the order in which it would contribute most effectively in determining the total educational program.

CURRICULUM-MAKING PROCEDURES

Flexibility of Objectives. The foregoing discussion of the determination of objectives has a direct bearing upon curriculum-making procedures. It is impossible to plan the details of curriculum without a clear indication of the objectives to be attained. As a matter of fact, the analysis of objectives must be given constant consideration throughout the process of curriculum making. The emphasis to be placed upon any objective will depend upon the peculiar needs of each individual to be educated. It is obvious that the decision as to what elements of subject matter and of activities and what procedure in learning and teaching shall be employed will depend upon the relative efficiency of particular elements for the attainment of specified goals or objectives. The educational values of experiences cannot be known or designated without reference to the ends in view. Moreover, since individual learners vary in their needs for attaining particular ends at all levels and stages of growth, the values of particular experiences for learners approximately at the same general level of growth will vary. The curriculum as the basis for directing the learning of youth must, therefore, be individualized. It must be flexible enough to be redirected at every stage in the learning process in accordance with day-by-day attainments of the learner.

The final determination of the objectives is not

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Methods of Procedure. The stages or steps involved in curriculum making may be indicated by the following:

1. The objectives of the program of secondary education should be agreed upon in consultation with the various agencies of the community under the expert direction of the educational staff.
2. The various objectives should be allocated to those agencies, both professional and nonprofessional, capable of contributing to their realization.
3. Each of these agencies should indicate clearly what provisions it can make for suitable experiences for the attainment of each objective.
4. These experiences should be placed at various levels in the total program, giving due recognition

to continuity of experience, probability of need in actual life situations, and the difficulty of performance.

5. The experiences on each level should be organized or arranged as nearly as possible according to their psychological and functional relationships. It should be borne in mind that this organization should recognize a central unifying objective stated, if possible, in terms of a significant life need. Examples of such unifying objectives are ability to write a letter, ability to play golf, ability to prepare and serve a meal, ability to read lyric poetry with appreciation, ability to read a foreign language, ability to solve a problem by means of an algebraic equation. It is quite evident that some of these central objectives require further analysis into more specific technical skills, knowledges, understandings, and appreciations which will be mastered in a series of unified experiences at different levels of maturity.

6. When the units of experience have been determined, they should be tried out with provision for their adaptation to the needs and interests of each individual.

Integrating racial and personal experiences. It is quite obvious that this concept of curriculum emphasizes outcomes in terms of abilities rather than mastery of the subject matter of the conventional program of secondary education. It does not, however, ignore the existence of areas of human experience generally designated as subject fields. The cultural elements of the great fields of learning are so essential to the enrichment of individual experience that the development of the program of secondary education is impossible without the services of the specialist in each of the fields of learning. The spe-

cialist will lead the youth to recognize the cultural significance of existing community institutions and their contributions to the enrichment of this experience, for each of these institutions will make its contribution to the total experience of the learner. The vital concern of the curriculum maker should be the integration of the personal experience of the learner with the cultural experience of the race. Integration of experience does not result merely from exposure; cultural experience must be planned and stimulated by the teacher. He must begin with the best of the learner's experience in the daily contacts with life and with the deftness of touch of an artist lead the learner to a reconstruction of his experience in terms of the best that race experience can offer.

Recognizing community ideals. How to develop these aspects of curriculum making is one of the major problems of the secondary school. Each of these phases requires a special kind of approach for which definite procedures have been evolved. The determination of objectives is ultimately the concern of the community that has established the school. These objectives will rarely have been clearly defined by the community. This task generally falls upon the professional staff and the leaders of other social agencies. The accuracy and clarity with which the task is accomplished will determine the acceptance or rejection of the objectives by the community. The community reacts generally in terms of felt needs and expresses its demands in terms of relative emphasis upon one or another of the major objectives set forth. For example, the need for expert stenographers in a given community will result in a special emphasis upon the standards of stenographic training; the existence of a strong college preparatory

tradition in another community will result in special emphasis upon the standards of preparation for college. In like manner, a strong religious sentiment in a community may tend to emphasize standards of moral training or oppose the teaching of science if it appears to conflict with the scriptural account of creation. It is obvious that in the long run a community will accept those objectives that are in harmony with prevailing community ideals and will reject or at least question those objectives that are in apparent conflict with those ideals. This is only another way of saying that a community will have the kind of educational program that it wants and will strive to secure a professional staff that will carry out the program in conformity with its ideals.

Program-building. The problems of selecting experiences, those representing the culture of the group (the subject matter) and those representing the personal experience of the learner (the school and community activities), is one for the professional expert to solve. This phase of curriculum making is generally designated as the formulation of the program of studies and the construction of the courses of study, or syllabi. This aspect of curriculum making is most successfully promoted by a representative group of the entire school staff—a committee containing members of each department represented in the school staff. The chief function of this committee is generally to propose a tentative analysis and assignment of objectives to the several departments and serve as a coordinating and steering committee in the continuous development of the educational program. Each department, or a representative group in each department, assumes responsibility for the "sketching" of a complete pro-

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gram in the field represented. This "sketch" may be presented in terms of a series of significant culture elements but preferably in terms of central objectives to be attained by means of the *materials* of the field concerned and of the related *activities* of the school and the community.

Organizing departmental programs. The organization of the work of a department for teaching is essentially a problem for the individual teacher with the guidance of the department head or the steering committee. Current practice tends to favor the *unit* as the basis for organizing educational experience. A unit may be defined as *a series of activities or experiences, vicarious or personal, the performance of which will develop the ability or level of mastery indicated in the central objective*. The concept of unity is applied not only to the specific learning unit but also to the series of units that constitute the course of study as "sketched" by the department. Ideally, units of learning should grow out of the tendencies of the learner to react to stimuli tentatively proposed by the teacher, or by teacher and learner. With a clear understanding of the learner's present ability and his need for increased ability in a specified direction, the teacher's task is largely that of providing suitable situations for promoting those activities and experiences necessary to the attainment of the desired growth. It is by means of such experimental tryouts of the unit that the educational program is gradually and continuously developed by the teacher in contact with the learner. Obviously the unit of learning is different for each learner because no two individuals are alike. Because of this fact it is never possible to organize the curriculum in advance in all its details. Only the

Integrating the learner's experiences. In the process of curriculum making the integration of the learner's experiences should be kept clearly in mind. Every effort should be made to interrelate and ultimately to integrate the total experience of the individual. The human personality cannot meet the problems of a complex environment unless its varied aspects are developed and well balanced so that its full power can be directed to meet new situations as they arise. Integration of the educational program as a whole does not guarantee an integrated curriculum for the individual. Integration of subject matter through fusion or correlation or any other mechanical process fails to recognize the principle that education consists in the development of abilities rather than in the mastery of formalized subject matter; that subject matter is a means to an end, not an end in itself; that an understanding of race experience interprets and enriches the learner's own experience. This process consistently followed in the education of the individual integrates him with the race without destroying those vital elements that constitute human personality.

Integration of personality does develop through the integration of experience, but the integration is the result of, and not the means of, the process. The integration takes place most effectively when teachers cooperate in the continuous direction of the learning activities. The teacher of social studies and the teacher of science should each contribute his share of the cultural heritage to the enrichment of the learner's experience. In such manner the teachers of the several fields of learning should contrib-

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ute their interpretations of culture as they are needed by the learner. The details of the development of the learning activities will be considered in the next chapter, in which will be presented the procedures in learning and teaching.

THE CURRICULUM IN A CHANGING SOCIAL ORDER

The educational program in a progressive and changing social order must in the nature of things be dynamic and constantly changing. A democratic social order is subject to constant change directed toward the attainment of its ideals, which in themselves are changing with the expansion of its conception of human relations. Each generation is faced with new problems of living in a changing environment. The development of new processes in communication and transportation, production and distribution, further complicate the ordinary processes of living. It is obvious, therefore, that a traditional program of education would soon fail to meet the needs of youth in such a changing environment.

The solution lies in a change in the conception of secondary education and the fundamental nature of the educational program. A narrow program of studies based upon formal subject matter that does not interpret and enrich the daily experience of the learner can have little value. In formal education emphasis must be placed upon a knowledge of sources of information and upon techniques of problem solving. Education should not be concerned with learning how to live in the past generation but rather with learning to meet the problems of the present. By this process the powers of the individual will constantly expand to meet the larger demands of adult life when they arise. The nature of a demo-

eratic society also demands that young Americans learn to work together cooperatively. The individual is becoming increasingly dependent upon his fellows in the performance of his daily activities. The spirit and drive of rugged individualism of a frontier society needs to be redirected into channels of endeavor requiring constructive leadership in cooperative enterprises that contribute to the general social good.

COORDINATING COMMUNITY RESOURCES

The recent rapid growth of the secondary-school enrollments reveal a still greater burden thrust upon the school. The burden is not merely one of increased numbers; if it were, the solution might be relatively easy. The main difficulty is that the American secondary school cannot, with its own resources, satisfy the educational needs of a large percentage of this new clientele. Community resources will need to be utilized systematically and intelligently if the needs and interests of these new types are to be satisfied. Perhaps the best approach to a solution of the problem lies in the coordination of community agencies having services and resources to contribute.

Organizing Community Activities. The school should be largely responsible for the gathering of data concerning interests and needs of all the young people of the community. The potentialities of the various community agencies, including the school, would be studied with a view to determining the existing offerings of these agencies toward the achievement of the desired objectives. A plan of community organization would be necessary for the purpose of articulating the work of the participating agencies. When the details of the activities to be provided

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1. Those young people who can be served most effectively by full-time educational opportunities under direct school control
2. Those young people who should continue a part-time educational program under school control
3. Those young people whose educational program should be entirely outside of the formal school and consist of directed work, at a noncompetitive-wage, community service, and leisure-time activities.

It seems obvious that the success of such a program will depend upon the skill of the staff directing the activities. The only staff with experience and a reasonable degree of skill now existing is the school staff. In most instances, there are no properly qualified personnel in the various organizations and agencies of the community capable of coping with the problems involved in such a comprehensive program of education. It should be noted that the staff of the formal school would be highly inefficient in dealing with the parts of the program not centered in the school.

New-type Personnel Needed. An important task, therefore, in the planning of such a comprehensive program is that of securing adequately prepared personnel for carrying on the activities. This point can be illustrated by citing the need for certain kinds of personnel. There is great need for health workers in every community who can direct the health and physical development of young people through their participating in health activities. There is great need on the part of all large communities for agencies

that can aid young people who are in the process of establishing home life in meeting the great variety of practical problems that confront the young husband and wife before a marriage begun auspiciously has been wrecked because of lack of guidance. An advisory and information service for young husbands and wives who are attempting to rear families would be of far greater value than much of the formal education in homemaking provided only for girls earlier in their curriculum. This borders upon adult education but has a very direct value for the older youth.

Every community needs personnel for the development of a well-rounded cultural program—directors of little theaters, orchestras, bands, choruses, and numerous other similar activities. Perhaps one of the most important contributions that such programs should make, and for which there is need of qualified personnel, is in the field of vocational choice and vocational preparation. The rapid changes in vocational opportunity due to technological and other trends have created a serious problem of re-education for vocations. A community program dealing with this problem would need the wisest kind of advisory and information service, organized as a part of a nation-wide hookup.

Preparing for Citizenship. If a democracy can survive only when composed of intelligent and responsible citizens, a community educational program should coordinate as completely as possible the opportunities for a continuous citizenship-guidance program. It is next to impossible to prepare young people for citizenship in a dynamic social order if the preparation ceases before they are full-fledged citizens. Some of the most important objectives in

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citizenship education, with respect to the responsibilities of the adult citizen, are impossible of attainment during the period of youth. No matter how completely the educational program in school may attain the desired objectives of school citizenship, it must be recognized that the transfer of training to the solution of general community problems is highly uncertain.

Interrelating School and Community Life. The school community is the larger community idealized; many of the problems now confronting the average American community are due to conditions that would not be tolerated in a good school. The problem then is one of interrelating school and community life. More than that, it is a problem of educating professional community leaders who can direct the citizenship activities of young people toward the achievement of the desired objectives. Education for citizenship is a continuous life process; one cannot learn to be a citizen in a four-year course in social studies. Moreover one cannot become a good citizen by practicing the art of citizenship only a part of the time. This is a problem which will require a community program that is constant and continuous for old and young. It will probably be made most effective through programs of work and community service. Large cities are neglecting a great opportunity for the improvement of the social ideals and behavior of potential racketeers and criminals who compose the gangs of youth that frequently terrorize the community. If these young people were organized on the basis of a noncompetitive—"work" educational program for cleaning up the slum sections, beautifying the sordid areas, and thereby earning an honest living, at the same time being made conscious of their social responsibilities, crime and

lawlessness would rapidly disappear. In the better communities where such sordid conditions do not exist, there is much to be done for the improvement of the physical and general social life of the community which could be done very effectively by the organized youth of the community as a phase of a community educational program. Such a program can be effectively provided only through educated workers who can devote their time unceasingly to this important problem.

Administrative Responsibility. There is a difference of opinion among educators concerning the responsibility of the school for directing this reconstruction of society. There are those who would place the burden of the administration of this entire program upon the school. There is apparent in such a plan a misunderstanding of the function of the school in society. Moreover, there is evident a tendency to depreciate the possibilities for education through other social agencies. An alternative plan for the administration of such a program would be one in which representatives of all the important social agencies would participate in the administrative responsibility. Without presenting detailed suggestions, it is quite obvious that such agencies as libraries, medical and health centers, museums, occupational groups and social-welfare agencies, and many others should assume their share of responsibility for administering this program. A community council representative of these types of agencies would be jointly responsible with the school for providing the broad program proposed.

CONCLUSIONS

The concept of curriculum is rapidly changing from fixed traditional patterns imposed upon all

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The analysis of the objectives and the selection of means for their attainment are professional tasks that can be performed only by the professional agencies which society has provided. In a democratic social order in which scientific discovery and invention have created a swiftly moving life scene, the curriculum must be in the process of constant change. The emphasis cannot be upon patterns of subject matter; it must be upon educational outcomes—abilities essential to the development of an integrated personality capable of meeting the problems of a constantly changing world. The recent tendency for large numbers of young people to return to the secondary school has raised the issue of the extension of the educational program to include community agencies and their resources. This plan would require a closer coordination of the school and community agencies in providing educational opportunity for all the youth of the community.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What are the different meanings of the term "curriculum"?
2. What is the relation of the curriculum to life? Illustrate.
3. Why does society frequently place special emphasis

upon particular objectives? Illustrate with actual examples from practice.

4. What changes in the American secondary-school program have occurred within the past quarter of a century? Why?
5. Explain the causes that have led to the recent "radical" changes in the program of secondary education in the United States.
6. Suggest ways in which community agencies can participate in curriculum making.
7. Suggest ways in which the several departments in a secondary school may participate in integrating the curriculum of the individual learner.
8. What community resources are generally available for the enrichment of the program of secondary education?
9. Outline a program of education for youth who can no longer profit by full-time formal education in school.
- 10 Are differentiated programs of secondary education justified? Explain.

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CHAPTER V

DIRECTING LEARNING ACTIVITIES

Traditional Methods. The procedures in directing learning in secondary education have developed traditionally along the lines of formal instruction. The school has been looked upon as the agency set up by society to develop short cuts in preparation for the performance of life activities. Most of the content of the program of secondary education has been systematized and formalized subject matter drawn from the great fields of learning representing race experience. The procedures of the teacher have been limited largely to instructing young people in the traditional lore which constituted the secondary-school program. In the days when Socrates taught his disciples and in the days when Jesus and the other Christian teachers walked and taught, the dialogue and the question and answer or catechetical method were the common modes of instructing. Little by little, teachers such as Quintilian, Vittorino da Feltre, and John Colet developed new methods of teaching, thus adding to the professional contributions in the field of education. All these procedures emphasize the process of giving the learner information generally to be accounted for in later examination exercises. It did not take long for the secondary school to make the mastery of subject matter the major purpose of the educational process. Learning became entirely divorced from the normal activities of life and thus developed into a more or less rigor-

ous intellectual discipline. The theory of formal discipline was a natural outgrowth of this development in teaching and learning processes. It became highly desirable, as knowledge accumulated, that the human mind be trained so that it might function in the use of any aspect of human experience. Space will not permit the detailed presentation of the stages of development of instructional procedures. With the rise of the scientific movement and the development of the inductive processes in thinking, there grew up new concepts of learning. These learning concepts naturally led to changes in the ideas of directing learning.

Rousseau in his *Emile* presents the first clear-cut argument against formal instructional procedures in his discussions concerning the education of *Emile*. Although there are many contradictions in Rousseau's work, he makes a clear case against the formalized learning and teaching procedures of the eighteenth century. His constructive suggestions for directing the learning of youth in normal life situations are numerous and valid. Many of his proposals were applied by Pestalozzi, Froebel, and other nineteenth-century educators. Unfortunately, the contributions of these pioneers were in turn formalized and separated from the normal life situations which Rousseau advocated. For example, Pestalozzi's method of observation which developed later in the laboratory procedures, has been rendered comparatively useless through extreme formalization. Much of this formalizing of learning and teaching has been due to a dependence upon textbooks. America has suffered as well as profited by the development of the textbook. For a long period of time there were no adequately prepared teachers for American

schools. The textbook was a substitute for the teacher in so far as directing the learning of the pupil was concerned. During the nineteenth century the personnel of the American secondary school developed sufficiently to provide here and there centers of influence tending to break down the use of the textbook and to substitute in its place more detailed plans of instruction prepared by the individual teachers.

New Methods. Along with this development there grew up a new psychology of learning which emphasized specific learning outcomes and individual differences on the part of the learner. With the turn of the century it became increasingly evident that effective learning depended upon effective direction for each individual in his learning activities. Teachers began to experiment with devices for acquainting pupils with how to study. They began to recognize that study habits were fundamentally important. They became aware also of the necessity of providing opportunity for study under the supervision of the teacher. They discovered that teaching was not concerned merely with hearing pupils recite. The importance of helping pupils to learn was more important than passing judgment upon the outcomes of undirected learning activities. Supervised study grew out of this period of trial and error and soon became formalized into a systematized study-recitation procedure. Although this adventure in the reform of teaching and learning practice did much to break down the traditional textbook-recitation methods, it was too narrow in its concept of learning. In many instances the textbook was the dominant source of materials for study. The use of the part of the class period for the supervising of study effectively prevented the use of

other sources of information. Moreover, learning situations with which the school and community abounded were almost entirely ignored as learning situations. It was not recognized that many of the most desirable learning products are derived from school and life situations impossible of reproduction in the classroom.

With the rise of general "methods" such as the project and the socialized recitation, it became increasingly clear that learning frequently takes place when the learner is unconscious of performing learning activity. The development of project curriculums and activity programs tended to emphasize the importance of learning situations involving activities other than formal study activity. The result of these developments was to give rise to the movement known as "directed learning." The concept of directed learning is based fundamentally upon the idea that learning involves experience in solving problems growing out of situations arising in the individual's environment. It frequently happens that the learner is not conscious of a definite problem. He becomes aware of the results of learning through past experiences when confronted by a new situation. He finds it possible to draw upon his own past experiences in solving the problems that present themselves.

Directed learning in its best form provides the nearest approach to general preparation for the solution of future problems. Its chief concern is not the mastery of subject matter so much as it is the development of effective learning habits and procedures. These procedures are developed in as wide a variety of life situations as possible. In this way the learner is able to transfer his method of learning to the solu-

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tion of problems of everyday life. Directed learning recognizes the constantly changing social order in which the individual moves and in which he will be compelled to function as an effective member. School is no longer a place for *lesson learning*; it is a place where the learner takes his problems and secures aid and direction in their solution.

THE NATURE OF THE LEARNING PROCESS

Habit Formation. Learning is essentially the process of finding solutions to problems. Any other concept of learning is of little value in itself and can be justified only to the extent that it is related to the ability to solve problems. The simplest form of learning is habit formation, a psychophysical process by which relatively fixed reactions are established through the repetition of responses to stimuli. It is clear from our previous consideration of the characteristics of the human being that habit formation begins with existing elements of the original nature of the individual. The individual must have general tendencies to learn and a mechanism such as a nervous system and physical organs in order that he may be stimulated to make responses to his environment. Real learning begins when the individual tends to select his responses to particular stimuli. Repeated response to a particular stimulus develops a relatively fixed reaction, which when definitely established constitutes a learning product. For example, the child learns to walk only after his earlier tendency to crawl has been given up in favor of the walking movements observed in his older associates. His responses to the stimulus to walk are at first spasmadic and uncertain, but gradually the appropriate movements are selected and repeated until

the "walking habit" has been established. This is an example of problem solving in its most rudimentary form. Learning the combinations in arithmetic, although a school problem, may not at the time that these learning products are mastered be an ordinary life problem. Although it may be highly desirable it is frequently uneconomical and perhaps impossible for the school to provide life situations presenting problems for stimulating learning of fundamentals. It happens, therefore, that in order to provide for learning of prerequisite fundamentals, the school must adopt procedures that represent economical shortcuts. The stimuli for such learning are often artificial for the time being, but the procedure is usually justified only for those learning products that are absolutely essential as tools for essential learning later on. Much of the learning to use tools appears on the level of elementary education. Secondary education is concerned largely with learning situations and activities in which the automatic performances in reading, spelling, writing, and other tools are essential to progress. Because of individual differences and for other reasons due to the complexity of environment, the secondary school is compelled to give attention, in individual cases, to this type of learning. On a higher level of difficulty the programs of secondary education devoted to conventional college preparation contain a large measure of such learning activity—fundamentals of foreign language, higher mathematics, and the specialized sciences. It must be borne in mind, however, that the justification for this type of learning should be the certainty of the need of the individual for the learning outcomes in order to be successful in the pursuit of more advanced learnings.

Laws of Learning. Allowing for individual variation in innate and acquired ability, learning is dependent upon certain general principles or "laws" of learning. These are usually stated as the *law of readiness, the law of exercise, and the law of effect*.

Law of readiness. The law of readiness recognizes that learning cannot take place if the learner is not able to respond to the stimulus presented. This inability to respond may be due to a general lack of innate ability, or to a lack of prerequisite knowledge, or to a lack of the control of tools required for making the response. This is easily illustrated in cases of students who fail in their schoolwork because they lack fundamental abilities required for mastering the problems with which they are confronted. Students fail in foreign languages for lack of ability in vocabulary or of knowledge of the essential mechanics of grammar or for other similar reasons; or they fail in history because of the lack of reading ability—low comprehension or low rate of reading or both. In some cases their inability to accomplish prescribed tasks may be due to poor eyesight, poor hearing, or lack of manual dexterity. These are all examples of unreadiness for school tasks, and examples of the operation of this principle may be noted in the failure of young people to function successfully in life situations. Problems of school discipline arise frequently because individuals are given responsibilities for which they have not been prepared in their previous experience. Student participation in school control frequently breaks down because it requires experience and development ordinarily attained only on the adult level. It is necessary that the teacher have definite evidence of the present

abilities of the individual before learning can be directed effectively.

Law of exercise. The mastery of the most important learning outcomes is dependent to some degree upon the recurrence of given stimuli and exercise in making appropriate responses. The law of exercise has been interpreted too frequently as justifying excessive routine drill and rote memory work. A better observance of this law in directing learning is in the providing of situations for varied practice. Routine drill is likely to be uneconomical except in extreme cases, because it tends to ignore the importance of association and transfer. A habit that is formed by practice in varied situations will have a greater appropriateness for use in new situations, chiefly because the chances are greater that some element of the new situations will be familiar because of previous experience. It is for this reason that the activities of the school outside the classroom and the activities of the community may be used most effectively for the mastery of learning outcomes.

Law of effect. The law of effect in learning is of vital importance in determining the usefulness of the learning product. Teachers need to be extremely careful that tedious drill procedures shall not produce unfavorable mind-sets or attitudes toward the thing learned. These unfavorable effects are avoided most effectively when varied life situations are employed as means of securing the needed exercise or practice. There is no economy in devoting months and years to a steady grind in learning required subjects, while in the process definite unfavorable mind-sets and attitudes result which prevent the learner's making use of the results. It is not proposed that the learning activity be made easy for the learner

when he has the ability to accomplish more difficult tasks or to solve more difficult problems. Goals that are too easily attained frequently fail to stimulate the pleasurable feeling of achievement necessary to wholesome intellectual growth. Teachers should strive, in directing the learning of young people, to develop a wholesome joy in the learning; but they should not demand the mastery of subject matter as an end in itself. One of the most important functions of the teacher is that of leading the learner to recognize the value of the outcomes for his own personal development. Many desirable learning products, such as interests and appreciations, are by-products of experiences that are in themselves a source of pleasure to youth. The teacher should not forget that failure to recognize the law of effect will frequently render his most skillful teaching unavailing.

Law of Association. There is also closely related to these three laws of learning, the law of association which has a general application to all aspects of learning. It must be recognized that the ability to associate one experience with another is conditioned by both innate ability and general experience. The individual of high intelligence is generally more capable of applying general principles to specific situations than is the less intelligent individual. On the other hand, the teacher must recognize the necessity for developing an understanding of the interrelationships of learning products. There is no such thing as automatic transfer of things learned in one situation to the learning of things in another situation. It is necessary in directing the learning of young people that they be made aware of these in-

terrelationships on every possible occasion. For example, the time devoted to the study of Latin on the assumption that it will improve one's command of English is hardly justified, unless the teacher recognizes the necessity for keeping the learner constantly aware of the interrelationships of Latin and English. Another reason for emphasizing the law of association in education is that the human mind is not made up of independent faculties or compartments into which the products of learning are segregated. It is a unitary thing and requires the integration of all the learnings of the individual. The development of understandings and of the emotionalized outcomes, such as attitudes and ideals, is accomplished only through the operation of the law of association. This principle has a bearing also upon the development of the individual's personality, affecting as it does the proper integration of the physical, mental, and emotional characteristics of the individual.

Learning for Living. This discussion presupposes that learning is necessary to all human beings. It is because of the ability of the individual to learn that the human race has progressed above the level of other animal groups. If the human being were endowed with specific modes of reaction such as exist among the lower animals, learning would be greatly retarded. Fortunately, the fixed reactions with which the human being is endowed are limited to those that are absolutely essential for his protection or for his continued existence in an unconscious state. In addition to these, there exist those general tendencies to respond to stimuli through various organs of the body and these are capable of modification, improvement, or even of elimination, through habit

formation. It becomes necessary, therefore, that the individual develop such modes of response as will fit him for efficient living in the existing environment, and many of these responses belong in the realm of higher intellectual and emotional responses. In many instances also physical proficiency can be developed to a very high degree. Experimentation with learning on the level of the lower animals reveals that the problems of learning on that level are very greatly increased because of the already existing fixed modes of response. There is little evidence that the learning of lower animals can be carried on beyond the level of the development of habitual and automatic responses. The ability to apply the outcomes of learning to new situations appears to be exclusively a function of the human being; it is not found among the lower animal types.

The importance of human learning is greatly augmented by the constantly changing environment from one generation to another. Solutions to the problems of one generation rarely serve equally well for a later generation. It is important to recognize this fact in the planning of educational programs lest we unconsciously educate young people to live in a past generation. Some means must be adopted by which the individual may be provided with the tools and methods of learning that will make it possible for him to continue to meet successfully new life situations as they arise. The difficulty does not lie with the human being, who has, as we have shown, the innate power; but it lies rather with the scheme of education which tends to perpetuate patterns of behavior not suited to the constantly changing environment.

TYPES OF LEARNING OUTCOMES

Primitive Outcomes. In the simplest forms of human society, there is evidence that all the important learning outcomes necessary to the proper functioning of the individual in life situations are recognized. Primitive peoples insist upon certain habitual responses on the part of individuals that are concerned with their everyday living. In some instances they approach the development of definite skills necessary to self-protection, making a living and performing the functions of citizenship. There is also a recognition of the necessity for the mastery of knowledge essential to both individual and group welfare. What foods are suitable, when to plant, how to cultivate, how to appease the gods, and numerous other factual data must be known by the members of a primitive society. There is also some evidence of outcomes of understanding, since most of the phenomena of life have an explanation which, although frequently unscientific, serve to justify the particular art of living practiced by the people. Aside from these more objective types of outcomes, primitive peoples place great stress upon emotionalized outcomes, patterns of behavior, ideals, attitudes, which strengthen the loyalty of the individual to the group and develop the essential oneness or unity of the group.

Historic Outcomes. The Greeks were among the first to make a significant contribution to procedures in formal instruction in their schools of rhetoric and philosophy. They not only emphasized the social-moral outcomes that were dominant among primitive peoples, but they developed in the study of rhetoric a concept of intellectual power and beauty

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of form that has never been surpassed. Formal discipline was definitely recognized as a psychological principle which justified the introduction of geometry, astronomy, and dialectic, because the study of these difficult matters "trains a boy to keep his attention closely fixed upon the point at issue and not to allow his mind to wander; so being practised in this way and having his wits sharpened, he will be made capable of learning more important matters with greater ease and speed."¹ The saving virtue of the methods as practiced by Isocrates and other rhetorical schoolmasters was the use of actual life situations such as debates, dialogues, and discussion clubs.

The contribution of the Greeks was a dominant characteristic of method in secondary education for almost two thousand years. The emphasis upon forms of expression seemed to receive more attention than the intangible emotionalized outcomes, which somehow lurked in the background and were never entirely lost. Character, morals, patterns of conduct, whether of the saint or the gentleman, were recognized as the great ends of education in spite of the apparent emphasis upon literary and grammatical forms and intellectual discipline. The latter type of outcome was not so much the result of formal study of grammar and of the other liberal arts as it was the result of the contact of personalities of pupil and teacher. This fact is fully recognized in the English public school in its emphasis upon school life and the association of boys and master both in and out of the classroom.

New Outcomes. Formalized outcomes having little meaning for the teacher and less for the learner

¹ Freeman, K. J.: *Schools of Hellas*, p. 183 By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

persisted well into the nineteenth century. With effort at reorganization, however, there was a revival of emphasis upon more fundamental educational outcomes, including habits, skills, understanding, and various emotionalized outcomes. With the dawn of the twentieth century, the more important civilized countries entered upon definite reforms in secondary education in which these important outcomes were given their proper place. At the present time curriculum makers are attempting to set up educational programs that recognize four fundamental types of learning outcomes:

1. Habits and skills
2. Knowledge and understandings
3. Ideals, attitudes, appreciations, and other forms of emotionalized outcomes
4. Problem solving

The latter type is generally considered as an integration of the first three in terms of definite functioning abilities in life situations. It is not understood that all learning activities will attempt to attain all these outcomes simultaneously, although no learning activity should be directed to the attainment of one type of outcome with utter disregard for the effect it may have on other desirable outcomes.

Automatic response. The simplest form of learning product is the result of constantly associating with a given stimulus a response which tends to be the same or nearly the same. It is true that with constant repetition in life situations the response may become colored by associated conditions such as pleasure or pain or certain meaningful relationships. As fixed associations, habits in their simplest forms, are developed in definite relationships, they

may become coordinated and form more complex responses, such as skills. This type of outcome is essentially an automatic response when definitely established, and if exercised with sufficient frequency it will remain a part of the behavior pattern to which the individual will conform under normal conditions.

Intellectual response. The second type of outcome represents a level of learning above the purely automatic response to stimuli. It is essentially intellectual in character and is dependent upon both personal and vicarious experience. Knowledge outcomes gained from vicarious experience depend for their mastery upon memory processes to a great extent but may be integrated with the general experience of the learner through the imaginative and associative powers of the individual. In this way this type of learning product becomes the basis for understandings in which judgment and the determination of relative worth of experiences are dominant functions. Knowledges and understandings when related to habits and skills give definite meaning to these purely automatic acts and thus enlarge the individual's control and facility in exercising them. His acts become purposeful and may be used in the direction in which the greatest satisfactions may be obtained.

Secondary education at its best has in the past been limited to this intellectualized knowledge-understanding type of learning product. The automatic habit-skill type has not generally been recognized as an important product of secondary education but has been placed over in the general category of vocational or technical education and labeled *training*. To be sure, there has been a recog-

nition of the necessity for the mastery of certain fundamental skills in fields of learning commonly emphasized in the secondary-school program.

Emotionalized response. In general there has been a tendency to neglect those outcomes that represent highly emotionalized elements of the general behavior of the individual. It is this type of outcome that provides motive and drive in learning. They are generally known as attitudes, ideals, appreciations, interests, and other types of a similar nature. The school in its neglect of such important outcomes produces individuals with a certain knowledge competence and ability to use knowledge in the solution of intellectual problems. It fails, however, to produce the individual who is likely to use his educational accomplishments in the right direction if he uses them at all. There is much criticism of the lack of intellectual interest on the part of young people in both the secondary school and the higher institution, and one of the major factors in producing this situation is failure of the school to recognize outcomes of the type here considered.

In recent years there has been an increased emphasis placed upon the development of personality. This emphasis is due in part to a better understanding of the characteristics of the individual. There is no longer the exclusive emphasis in the study of the psychology of the human being upon such abstract qualities as memory, association, and the numerous other categories emphasized in the older psychology. The individual is studied as a unit personality and attention is given to his physical, mental, and emotional characteristics as they contribute to the total human being. Because of this change in attitude with reference to characteristics of the individual,

there is a growing movement in the direction of the integration of the total experience of the individual as the basis for his education, both in school and out. Teachers are recognizing the multiple possibilities of directing the education of the individual in his formal classwork, in the life of the school, and in the community life which surrounds him. In judging educational progress, complete dependence is not being placed upon achievement as revealed by formal tests and examinations, and greater weight is given to evidences of growth rather than status at any particular time.

Response to problems. It is recognized that no matter what the native abilities of the individual may be, environmental factors can be selected and brought to bear upon him in such ways as to direct his growth. This point of view has influenced to a very great degree the attitude of teachers and administrators toward the formal educational program. Textbooks, alone, no longer satisfy intelligent teachers, because they do not provide the learning exercises essential to the needs of individual pupils. In the same manner class exercises have either become more lifelike in their setting and their significance, or they have been transformed outright into projects, club activities, and other more stimulating opportunities for experience. The school as a whole is no longer separated from the social life of the community; it has become to some extent a center for the general educational activities of the community, although most educational and social leaders no longer believe that the school is the only place where education may be carried on. If this point of view is generally accepted and no provision is made for coordinating community agencies to meet the

educational needs of increased numbers of young people freed from employment, there is great danger that the opportunities for education will be lost through lack of competent direction. With this broader view of education, the school is, at present, the only existing agency competent to assume the function of coordinating and giving professional direction to the numerous activities of the community that may contribute to the education of young people.

TYPES OF LEARNING ACTIVITIES

Lesson Learning. It is a sacred tradition in secondary schools that lessons must be learned. This is a vestige of early practices in secondary education when the needs for formal education were extremely limited or unavailable to students. Definite formal exercises were learned under the careful direction of the teacher who alone had access to the original text materials. This was particularly true before the invention of printing, when texts of great authors were found only in large libraries and copies of these texts were supplied to teachers in manuscript form. It was very important that the pupil should learn as much of the material presented as possible in order that he might have readily available the wisdom which would guide him in his own life activities. There was much memorizing and learning of lessons even before the content was understood, and the actual meaning of the text was frequently developed long after the memorization had taken place.

Influence of textbooks. With the invention of printing and the multiplication of books, particularly of texts made for use in schools, the old process of learning lessons continued. The books were di-

vided into lessons which were merely convenient segments of the logically organized materials to be learned. Examples of such early texts are *Distichia Catonis*, *Nomenclatura Naturae Rerum*, and *Ars Grammatica Minor* of Donatus, a formulation of the principles of grammar which determined the content of grammar down to the twentieth century. A book which had considerable influence on American secondary education was Cheever's *Accidence*, perhaps the earliest American Latin textbook. These and many others of similar character provided the content of the program of secondary education. Little use was made of other sources, since libraries were unheard of in our early secondary schools except when they were accumulated by the schoolmaster in his own home and made available to his more diligent students. These textbooks were even more important because the teacher was generally untrained for teaching and needed a guide which could be placed in the hands of the pupil. The result of this development was to place practically the entire responsibility for learning upon the pupil and his textbook. The teacher was charged with the pupil's accomplishment and later would take responsibility for the pupil's failure to learn his lesson. Lesson learning has been the worst outcome of our traditional recitation procedure. The emphasis was entirely upon the memorizing of fixed subject-matter elements. Even in fields in which it would be easy to attain other outcomes of importance to the individual, these were frequently ignored because it was easier to memorize fixed and required subject matter. One of the worst results of this practice has been the perpetuation of the authority of the textbook without regard to its effect upon the learner.

The American youth under such traditional procedures could not develop independence of thought and uniqueness of personality. Emerson, in his essay on Education, recognizes the danger of traditional practices in American schools when he says to the teacher: "Do not make another You. One's enough."

Learning by Activities. The problem confronting the modern school is one of relearning on the part of teacher and pupils. It is highly important that the whole concept of the learning activity of pupils and the teaching activity of teachers should be revolutionized. Learning and teaching are essentially complementary functions; they cannot be analyzed apart from each other and they cannot be planned without reference to each other. It may appear, of course, that lesson learning and lesson hearing in our old schools were mutually interdependent, but there was no evidence of the necessary cooperation between learner and teacher. It was in most instances more a game of deception in which the pupil and the teacher were constantly bluffing each other; the pupil trying to persuade the teacher that he had done his task faithfully, as required, and the teacher constantly maintaining a threatening attitude, prophesying all manner of evils, failure being the worst, if the pupil's responses were not in accord with the teacher's desires. The new ways of learning demand outright that the pupil-teacher attitude be changed from one of petty antagonism to that of full and free cooperation. The change from the traditional learning procedures described above has taken place within the past thirty years.

The old lesson learning has given way to a variety of learning procedures, many of which would be im-

possible in the traditional school. The conventional study hall with its accompanying home-study requirements is rapidly giving way to a directed study laboratory procedure, larger provision for the use of the library, projects involving both formal class and out-of-class activities, a great variety of organized student-life activities, field trips, the use of museums and other local agencies affording opportunities for learning. In this new plan many of the most desirable outcomes are the result of activities that do not involve planned study as such. The learning takes place during the process of experiencing a desirable life activity. It may be described as learning through the practice of interesting activities in contrast with learning through repetitive drill. The new ways of learning make definite appeal to the interests and ideals of the learner and provide for the mastery of those learning products that are entirely ignored in traditional formal learning procedures. Particular experiences or learning situations are not provided merely because they are interesting, but they are recognized as being effective only when, and to the extent that, they are interesting to the learner. Highly desirable learning situations are not discarded because they are immediately uninteresting, but ways and means are found for developing the necessary interest in order that these educational situations may become effective. The new ways of learning are at war with Mr. Dooley's well-known principle: "If you can find anything that the boy doesn't like, put it into the curriculum." Disagreeable tasks are never educational in the true sense unless the performer of the tasks has a real desire to master them even though

they are disagreeable. The new ways of learning further recognize that interesting experiences may have little value for education if they do not stimulate further growth in the learner. It is quite clear, therefore, that the new procedures in education recognize the necessity for appealing to the interests and desires of the learner, and that this appeal to interest is not made more effective through artificial motivation but is more effective when the situations providing the experience are in themselves of real interest to the learner. It is further recognized that learning which takes place in situations that are natural and as varied as possible will be more useful to the learner in his solving of new problems.

LEARNING AND TEACHING

Role of Teacher and Learner. Previous discussion has emphasized the tendency in secondary education to recognize the complementary character of these two functions. It is only through such a complementary process that either learning or teaching can be effective. Both the teacher and the learner should be interested in what actually happens to the learner. His achievement or his failure to achieve is the point of contact for the planning of learning activities. Any weakness or need of the learner should be recognized by both learner and teacher, and the joint responsibility for removing the defect or meeting the need should be clearly recognized. The teacher is not in the position of a judge meting out justice but rather in the position of the advocate who is vitally concerned with the outcome of every educational situation. Sir John Adams characterizes the teacher as a "scene shifter" and contrasts the

old point of view of the teacher as the "star" in the performance with the present tendency for the teacher to give place to the learner as the "star." The teacher's function is that of preparing the stage and arranging for the entrances and exits and, when necessary, prompting the performer. Perhaps there should be recognition of the fundamental difference between the function of the stage director and the function of the teacher. The performance for the teacher is more in the nature of directing the learning of lines and the rehearsal than it is of directing a set performance. In other words, the acting is not entirely predetermined; the lines may be changed according to the ability of the learner.

Pretesting and Retesting. This cooperative point of view is revealed more clearly in the testing program which is recognized as the first step in the new procedures in education. All testing is for educational purposes, and only incidentally does it serve as an administrative device. No teaching or learning is possible without first testing the learner to determine what his present status and his needs may be. Since it is not desirable that the pupil shall waste time on things that are already mastered, the testing program should reveal present attainments as well as weaknesses, in order that proper emphasis may be placed upon the weak spots in the growth of the individual. There should be provided frequent opportunities for retesting, in order that the learner be acquainted with his progress as a means of motivating his further efforts. A record of time spent upon a task or activity should not be substituted for the measurement of final achievement. Time serving as lesson learning not only fails to stimulate the attainment of true educational outcomes,

but it renders evaluation of growth impossible. Achievement should be evaluated in relation to the native ability of the learner, and consequently the learning activities should be adapted to learning ability. Although it may be possible for pupils of low mental ability to accomplish certain types of results through repetitive drill or by memoriter procedures, it should be recognized that such procedures in learning may be highly uneconomical. It is important that the learning outcomes be of such a nature as will represent the development of real abilities in the individual. It seems quite clear, therefore, that all learning and teaching of the type advocated must be based upon a clear understanding of the essentially cooperative nature of the activities involved.

DIRECTING LEARNING

Steps in the Process. There are certain steps in directing learning that are now recognized as fundamental, and it is important that they be clearly understood. These steps may be stated as follows:

1. Discovering the learner's needs
2. Stating the objectives in terms of abilities to be developed
3. Planning to meet the learner's needs
4. Directing the learning activities
5. Motivating learning activities
6. Evaluating progress
7. Diagnosing, and remedial treatment of, special difficulties
8. Attaining mastery of the desired outcomes

Experimentation within recent years has contributed greatly to the refinement of the procedures

Understanding the learner's needs involves at least two important activities—the development of a cumulative history of the individual's growth, his life purposes, special aptitudes, interests, and other vital information; and the determination at any point in his development of the abilities already attained. The cumulative record, in which may be preserved the evidences necessary for understanding the learner, is being perfected and used in many schools. The pretest and other procedures for discovering the present status of the individual's development with respect to certain definitely stated outcomes is now recognized as an essential step in directing learning. The statement of definite objectives in terms of abilities to meet situations that normally confront the individual provides both motivation and direction to the learner in terms of his needs. The planning of learning activities has undergone a significant change because of the great interest in curriculum making in this country. Secondary schools are finding it necessary to reconstruct their entire programs in order to meet the needs of the great variety of individual abilities and interests. One of the most difficult problems involved in curriculum making is that of making direct contact between curriculum and learner. Most of the conventional lesson planning has failed to transform the course of study into satisfactory learning situations, and many attempts have been made to remedy this defect through the use of individualized instruction procedures, such as the contract and the learning-unit guide sheet.

The Dalton contract. The Dalton contract as originally formulated had the merit of providing a segment of work that would allow the student freedom in carrying out his assignments. It lacked, however, the stimulating intellectual purpose so much needed in American education and tended to promote time service with too little regard for the nature of the outcomes of pupil activity.

The Morrison plan. The unit, as developed first at the University of Chicago High School under Morrison and his staff, was a direct contribution to educational planning. Since the "Morrison plan" appeared, there have been many modifications in experimental schools as well as in the more conventional types of schools. At the present time the practice seems to be in the direction of units of teaching which outline the several steps necessary in directing learning and provide for the flexible organization of learning units. The planning of such learning units involves, where regular courses of study are in vogue, the setting up of central objectives stated when possible in terms of abilities as learning outcomes.

Unit abilities. These central objectives, if properly selected, provide the unifying principle which was entirely neglected in the contract. These central objectives are generally recognized as unit abilities dependent for their development upon other contributory objectives. For example, in a course in written English, the ability to write a social letter might be taken as the central objective of a unit. This ability is to be developed through learning activities, some or all of which may be concerned with the mastery of more specific outcomes that have value only because they contribute to the abil-

ity to write a letter or perhaps to some other important ability in another unit of the course. Examples of these contributory elements are ability to spell, ability to punctuate, ability to write a sentence, ability to develop a paragraph, a knowledge of proper conventional forms in letter writing, ability to organize and express thoughts based upon one's own experience, and perhaps others of equal importance. Most of these contributory objectives have value only to the extent to which, when attained, they contribute to abilities that are important in the individual's contacts with his environment. Aside from such disciplinary value as spelling may have, the ability to spell has little significance except as it makes possible intercommunication among individuals. The same is true of the ability to write a sentence, or to construct a paragraph, or to perform any other skills necessary in life activities.

Method of Attack. It is not sufficient, however, to set up a central purpose and contributory objectives in the planning of the unit. The teacher must have at his command a variety of tested professional skills which can be utilized as needed. In the first place, he should decide upon the general method of attack in providing learning situations having value for the group as a whole and differentiated situations having value for individual members of the group. Learning situations might well include a laboratory activity, a classroom discussion, a field trip, systematic use of the library, the use of museum collections, the development of a club project, the participation in a student activity, or other environmental setups suited to the attainment of the objectives prescribed.

Individualization of work. If a unit is developed in the field of French, the class group itself might be a desirable learning situation. It is obvious that the pupil who desires to correspond with a French boy or girl will see the significance of correct practice and strive more intelligently to meet the standards of practice than if the learning to write French is merely a class exercise or a bit of homework. The planning of the unit should include not only the general learning situation but some indication as to its content—things to be done and, if possible, the standard of accomplishment desired. This work should be individualized as fully as possible by providing differentiated units for pupils of varying abilities and interests. In large classes, individualization of work is facilitated by recognizing the different levels of ability found in the group. Bright pupils in general should be stimulated to their highest achievement, while slow or dull pupils should be directed into activities which have definite meaning for them and which they are able to perform successfully. Perhaps the large part of any group in the secondary school will be served by a common program, but provision should be made for individual variation wherever it occurs. The differentiated assignments to these differing ability groups should be planned as fully as possible in order that the work of the teacher in adapting the unit to individual needs will not be delayed by general routine activities.

Testing procedures. The planning of a unit should also take into account testing and other evaluating procedures. Pretests should be constructed and ready for use before the unit is started; and they should have a definite relation to the central

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objective and to the contributory objectives agreed upon. Practice tests are valuable for stimulating improvement at every stage of the work, and should serve as a guide to the learner by indicating points requiring special emphasis. Diagnostic tests and other evaluative procedures with suggestions for remedial work should be carefully planned and ready for use. If possible, there should be a carefully organized final test or other means of evaluation which can be used at the completion of the unit in order that both learner and teacher may be reasonably certain when mastery is attained. If the unit is planned in detail and allowance is made for such modifications as may be necessary as the work progresses, the remaining steps in the process will be more easily accomplished.

Guide sheets. Directing learning activities involves the provision of guide sheets for the presentation of appropriate challenges for individual pupils, advising individuals in the selection of methods of work, directing participation in student-life activities, arranging for field work, directing the pupils in their use of the library and other sources of information. Directing the learning activity is the teacher's opportunity to cooperate with the pupil in the improvement of his learning procedures, and every activity of the teacher should be determined by the learner's responses to the situations that confront him. Constant contact of the teacher with the pupil as he plans and carries on the various phases of his work provides an opportunity to the teacher for evaluating pupil growth, for it is the teacher with his broader experience who must estimate the progress and growth of the learner. He should interpret to the learner his weaknesses and his strengths,

and should help the learner to discover the causes for his inability to perform any particular activity in the learning situation. He should be ready with appropriate suggestions for better modes of attack, and should give special consideration to the opportunities provided for stimulating the learner to renewed effort when interest lags. His main task in evaluating the progress of the learner is to discover the weak spots before they have lowered general learning efficiency.

Remedial treatment. The discovery of weaknesses should be followed by remedial treatment suited to the improvement of these weaknesses. The procedures in remedial teaching must lean heavily upon the individual interests and desires of the learner if active cooperation on his part is to be attained. It is important to know the possibilities and limitations of the home and community life of the individual, his special interests, and conditions surrounding him that may tend to lower his intellectual vitality. Fundamental abilities required for effective learning in school need to be checked and peculiarities of physical or emotional characteristics should be known and understood in order that the remedial activities may have an opportunity to influence the undesirable conditions.

Evaluation of Progress. The final step in directing learning is concerned with the evaluation of progress in terms of the norms or standards of achievement desired at any particular level. There has not been sufficient work done in the field of secondary education for determining objectively the desirable standards to be attained at any age or grade level. There is need for a testing program that will make it possible to decide when achievement is satisfac-

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tory at the different levels in the secondary school. A simple illustration of this is the case of handwriting. There are standards of handwriting that are acceptable at different stages in the development of handwriting ability. There is also a point at which further attention to formal handwriting practice is not desirable. Some scale of achievement for all the important abilities to be attained in secondary education should be developed if mastery of these abilities is to be evaluated properly.

CONCLUSIONS

Directing the learning of youth is as old as the race, and the responsibility for the performance of the function has been partly parental and partly social. The development of a complex social order and the need for emphasis upon formal learning early led to the selection of the teacher as the professional agent for carrying on this activity. The history of secondary education reveals that the effort on the part of the school to provide effectively for the performance of this function resulted in the development of formal instructional procedures. Most of this instruction has been devoted to the requiring of mastery of certain selected knowledge elements although there is some evidence that power to use knowledge has always been considered desirable. Effective procedures for developing this power have been sought for with varying emphasis throughout the history of the race.

Habit formation and the development of skills have not been given the important place in secondary education which they deserve, largely because these types of outcomes have been looked upon as vocational and technical in their implications. Per-

haps the greatest weakness in the formal instruction procedures has been the failure to recognize the importance of the emotionalized type of educational outcome. More recently, improved procedures in directing learning have made a special effort to emphasize these outcomes. Further recognition of the unitary character of learning has led to increased stress upon personality development which recognizes that the individual grows as a unit and not as separate physical, mental, and emotional parts. This new concept of learning has led to a definite change in the relation between the learner and the teacher. The complementary character of the functions of learning and teaching has led to experimental and empirical efforts with teaching procedures that will give due recognition to the learner as an individual.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What changes in theory and practice in secondary education have influenced the development of the present practices in directing learning?
2. What is study? Does any learning occur without study? Illustrate.
3. How are the steps in directing learning related to curriculum-making?
4. What are the characteristic differences in learning among dull and bright pupils? How do you account for these differences?
5. Why is it necessary that the teaching process begin with testing the learner?
6. In what respects is testing an instructional process?
7. What is diagnosis? Is it always necessary?
8. How can the outcomes of formal learning be integrated by the several departments of the secondary school?
9. Are all essential steps in learning provided for in the unit of learning as now generally developed?
10. To what extent is transfer of learning in school made to the solution of life problems?

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CHAPTER VI

GUIDANCE OF YOUTH

Guidance Agencies. Guidance has been a recognized function in education since the time of Plato and perhaps earlier. No doubt the patriarchal head of a family and, later in the development of the larger groups, the "medicine" man and the prophet performed functions now known as guidance. The church, through the priest or minister, has continued to afford special counsel to the individual and his parents on all manner of things, temporal as well as spiritual. In a similar manner, the family physician has continued this special function of the primitive "medicine" man. Plato calls special attention to the need for wise choice in the preparation for a life activity and advocates the recognition of special abilities in planning the education of youth. Teachers at all times and in varying degrees have been the counselors of youth, in some instances competing with other guidance agencies. It is obvious from many other sources of both theory and practice in education that guidance is an old function and has always been recognized as the responsibility of society in close association with its responsibility for education in its formal aspects.

Individual Opportunities. It must be recognized, however, that the opportunities for the individual to choose his vocation or other important life activities were extremely limited before the rise of democratic movements of modern times. In the past, the

boy was expected to follow more or less in the footsteps of his father. Families generally were known by, and named for, the vocations which they followed, and opportunities for free choice were strictly limited. The best example in early education of the freedom of the individual in his choice of vocation, of cultural opportunities, and of association was perhaps in the later stages of Athenian development when the individual was given great freedom in both thought and action. After the decline of Athens and the rise of the Graeco-Roman civilization, freedom of choice was restricted very largely to certain professional or privileged groups. For example, the opportunity to choose a religious life in preference to a worldly vocation was generally open to young men and young women with special abilities or aptitudes for these privileged vocations. Opportunities of the same sort, but to a lesser degree, existed in the other professions of law, medicine, and teaching. Since these latter were worldly vocations, the special privileges of the clergy were not conferred upon their members; but by virtue of their intellectual attainments these members were frequently accorded special privileges and deferred to by the common man.

With the rise of modern democracies, particularly American democracy, there has developed the theory that since all men were created equal, they should have free choice of education, modes of life, social relations, and numerous other lines of action. The development of the theory of individual freedom as it has progressed in this country makes it absolutely essential that wisdom be used in the individual choice in all phases of human activities. But in spite of the theory that all men are created equal, it is a well-known fact that there are multitudes

who must be guided constantly in the choices which they make and in the performance of the activities resulting from these choices. Intellectual ability alone limits the possibility of freedom of choice to a very small percentage of the population who are really capable of making wise decisions without systematic guidance. The need for guidance is increased by the constant changing of social and economic life and by the necessity for adjustment with respect to numerous life activities.

NATURE OF GUIDANCE

Major Objects of Guidance. Guidance is frequently characterized as the directive function in education as contrasted with the instructional function. It is the function which is concerned with differentiation as contrasted with the one which deals primarily with the integration of the members of the social group. One of the major concerns of guidance is the giving of aid in the making of decisions. Closely associated with this aspect of guidance is that of aid in the carrying of these decisions to a successful conclusion. Almost all the choices relating to life activities which require judgment based upon factual data are improved through guidance. The chief problem involved is the provision of agencies that can render this service effectively. The acceptance of this approach in the education of young people for the activities of life tends to place squarely upon the individual the responsibility for making decisions. Because of the individual's responsibility in this respect, it is important that he be instructed in the procedures for making wise choices leading to his adjustment to the social group. America is at the present moment passing through

an experience which emphasizes the need for a sound program of guidance for all young people, and perhaps the provision of guidance for the adult will become increasingly important as social and economic life becomes more complex and variable, and the necessity becomes greater for frequent vocational and social readjustment.

A Variable Process. Guidance is by nature a variable process. It is not concerned with something that can be taught to each individual in the same way and by repetition become a fixed learning product. Guidance is rather a continuous educational service which must be provided in the earlier stages of life by responsible counselors. The same function is performed later by numerous other social agencies. The only difference between the guidance of the nonadult and the adult is that society has made a certain professional agency—the school—responsible for co-ordinating the whole guidance activity for the nonadult. In the process of growing up under wise guidance, the individual as an adult becomes more or less independent of the professional guide and is capable of proceeding as his own counselor, calling upon the appropriate agencies of the community as he needs them to aid him in solving his problems. To illustrate the differences in the application of the principles of guidance with the youth and with the adult, the youth must be aided in learning to use the library, in proper selection of diet, in the choice of friends and associates, in the selection of vocational activities, and in numerous other significant ways. The adult, having developed appropriate behavior under wise guidance, continues to use libraries and health services and numerous other services afforded by society for making his decisions. The

nature of guidance may be clarified by some indication of what it is not. Guidance is not prescription, except in extreme cases in which the social good is involved. Freedom of choice on the part of the individual does not sanction the domination of parents, teachers, or others who may be assumed to be more wise. Prescription of behavior for youth tends to make them dependent and lacking in initiative. What the modern youth needs is not an attitude of dependence upon teacher and parent but freedom to cooperate and to assume his share of responsibility for the social welfare—freedom to adventure and discover new trails, less valuable as trails than some older ones, but more valuable as education than most things already discovered by someone else.

SIGNIFICANCE OF GUIDANCE IN A CHANGING SOCIAL ORDER

Adjustment to Environmental Needs. Reference has already been made to the increasing need for guidance in a dynamic society. Fixed forms of procedure are impossible with the constant changes due to the contributions of science and the increasing demands upon the already complex social system. Youth cannot be made to conform to patterns of behavior that were developed in a simple agrarian society such as was dominant in America until the end of the nineteenth century; new modes of living demand new modes of learning. In the last chapter it was pointed out that the traditional practices in instruction have given way rapidly to new procedures in directing learning. There can be no essential difference between the directed learning procedures of the formal educational program and

the guidance procedures with which we are here concerned. There is, however, a clear indication that the guidance function and the instructional function are becoming intimately related in the total process of education. The conditions which have brought about the change in formal educational procedures have led to the conscious development of the guidance procedures. Education in all its aspects is concerned to a very large extent with the constant adjustment of the individual to meet his environmental needs—both personal and social.

If American youth are to be provided with the kind of educational opportunity demanded for their proper adjustment and continuous readjustment to community life, society must afford increasing opportunity for programs of education in which the principles of guidance will determine the educational procedures. It is becoming more evident that a large number of American youth will not profit by exclusively formal educational provisions. Many young people will continue their education only through contact with life itself and will depend upon institutions and agencies of the community to provide a suitable educational opportunity. The main problem is perhaps that of proper coordination of the elements of such a program and the guidance of the individual in the choice of the opportunities available.

Areas of Life Activities. When the individual leaves the formal school because it can make no further contribution to his development, the school should not assume that it has no further responsibility for his education. From that point on, the school should be responsible for arranging for such guidance as he may need until he assumes his place

as a contributing member of the community. Even then he will meet problems for the solution of which he will continue to call upon the various social agencies for aid. There are several areas of life activities in which there is likely to be an increasing need for guidance, particularly in the case of the older youth. These lines of activity have to do with the improvement of health and physical well-being, including a choice of sports and other outdoor activities; the choice of and preparation for a vocation; the intelligent participation in the social and civic life of the community; and the choice of leisure-time activities involving cultural and recreational interests. These four areas are of such vital importance in the development of sound individual and social relations that they should be given special attention in the broad program of education for all youth.

Health service. There is great need in this country for an adequate health service for all the people. There is no period in the life of the human being when the proper guidance in the development of healthful living is more necessary than the period of youth. At the present time there is almost a total absence of effective service of this kind. What service is provided is generally open to the very poor and the very wealthy. The great mass of American people are practically unable to afford the kind of health guidance and health service needed. Every community should provide for its young people a varied opportunity for recreational health activities. It is only in the very favored communities that anything permanent and constructive is being done at the present time. The result is that those young people who are not gainfully employed are dependent upon the school which they attend for most of

their health guidance. There are many other young people who do not attend school or attend so irregularly that they receive no effective service of this kind. A community health-guidance service, with the school-guidance service as an integral part, should be provided in every community.

Vocational service. What is true of the need for health guidance is true to an even greater extent with respect to the choice of and preparation for a vocation. Well-organized school systems make an effort to provide vocational guidance in the junior and senior high school. Much of this guidance is extremely limited and has been rendered ineffective by the economic conditions of the present day. The problem of vocational reeducation has not been understood, much less solved. Millions of young people in the older youth period are greatly in need of help in their attempt to retrain for gainful occupations. Since the schools cannot handle this problem alone, there should be provided a high degree of coordination and cooperation among the social and economic agencies of the community. There is a necessity for regional and national coordination if the surplus unemployed in one community is to be made aware of the opportunities in other communities. A nation with the unexplored resources such as America boasts should not fail to provide opportunity for earning an honest livelihood to each able-bodied individual in its population.

Citizenship service. Perhaps the greatest need in a democratic society is the need for intelligent and useful citizens. Service and leadership in a democratic society cannot be restricted to a small class motivated largely by political self-interest. Every individual should be qualified to participate in some

way in the civic life of his community, but intelligent participation in American civic life will not result from purely formal education in school civics and American history and politics. Good citizenship in this country will result chiefly from active participation in activities of the community that lead to improved social conditions. Almost any American community that may be chosen affords evidence of demand for numerous cooperative activities dealing with community improvement. Such activities can be directed by intelligent and educated community leaders, and the young people of every community, and the adults as well, should be guided in the development of projects for community betterment.

In the experience gained in solving such problems, the individual will receive an education for citizenship that is impossible to secure in formal educational situations. This is civic guidance in a fundamental sense. In this connection, during periods of economic depression, when large numbers of young people and adults are unemployed, "work" projects could be developed to great advantage as a means of civic and vocational education. Such programs of work should involve wages low enough not to compete with regular wage scales. In this way the government—local, state, or national—through a proper distribution of its income from taxation would prevent the deterioration of both the man power and the material facilities of the community and thus avoid the excessive expenditures and reconstruction during the periods of prosperity. In this way the service improvements would be continuous and stable while at the same time young people of a particular generation would not suffer because of recurring depression periods. The greatest gain would

be in a better-educated young citizen on whom is to fall major responsibilities for community service and leadership. The formulation of plans for such community projects requires an acquaintance with the nature and needs of the youth of the community and a program of guidance for those who are to participate in the various activities involved.

Leisure-time service. Critics of American society agree that one of its most fundamental weaknesses is due to the inability of the average citizen to enjoy his free time. It is a strange commentary upon a nation of people who have surrounded themselves with all the possibilities for the enjoyment of leisure time—libraries, museums, parks, national forests, broad highways, pleasure resorts, and numerous other resources—that they are used by such a small percentage of the total population. This problem is of peculiar significance to the youth of America because of the danger of recurring periods of unemployment. There is great need for individual guidance in this field since many young people fail to develop interests in lines of activity which would tide them over periods of unemployment. These are the ones who would profit most by a community-guidance service dealing with leisure activities. Perhaps this service could be developed most effectively if communities provided better-educated leaders for young people. There is need for directors or sponsors of little theaters; musical activities; conventional social activities, such as dancing, social games, hobbies, and other special interests. A community program of such proportions would involve both guidance and the direction of a wide range of activities. The result would be an expanded educational opportunity for all the youth and particularly for those

who are no longer served by the formal educational program. Much of this activity could be provided by existing agencies through programs already operating or through modified programs better suited to the needs of youth.

CURRENT PRACTICES IN GUIDANCE

Traditional Guidance. Guidance as now recognized in American education is a comparatively recent development and has received its major emphasis in the field of secondary education. It began first with guidance in the choice of vocations, but it soon became apparent that vocational guidance would have limited values to the individual if it were not associated with guidance in planning the educational program necessary to prepare for specific vocations. As a result of efforts to meet this need, definite programs of educational and vocational guidance have been developed in many public and independent schools. As an outgrowth of educational guidance, there have also developed closely related programs of pupil adjustment in which problem cases have received special attention. This type of guidance has brought the formal education and guidance activities into vital relation to each other.

Guidance for Social Adjustment. With the great increase in the secondary-school population and the assembling of large groups—thousands of young people in large secondary schools—there has arisen the problem of social adjustment for which the usual guidance program has not been adequate. Many of the problems growing out of the social life of the heterogeneous mass in the modern secondary school have been problems due largely to environment, and these problems have called for a kind of advisory

service for which the guidance counselor has not been prepared. They are problems of socialization and require guidance in group activities. They require a peculiar kind of social leadership on the part of the counselor. In response to the need for this service, the dean of girls and the dean of boys have been added to the personnel of the school. This phase of guidance has been concerned more with adjustment of the individual to his group and has emphasized acceptable standards of social and moral behavior. It has frequently involved the collaboration of the guidance counselor, the psychologist, the psychiatrist, the physician, the nurse, and other specialized personnel recently added to the staffs of secondary schools. Perhaps this type of guidance is concerned primarily with preventive programs, while earlier forms of guidance have been concerned frequently with diagnosis and remedial programs for individual cases. In some school systems, such as that of Providence, Rhode Island, the guidance program has been developed with the view to including all these aspects as essential to the development of the individual in all his personal and social relations. It seems quite obvious that such a comprehensive conception of guidance is the only fundamentally sound one, although particular schools may find it advisable or possible to provide more limited guidance service than this concept suggests. Frequently the problem which appears to be a personal-adjustment problem is one which is influenced very largely by the social situations in which the individual is placed. Many of the emotional upsets of individuals have their origin in lack of social adjustment rather than in a failure to meet educational requirements,

or because of physical disabilities, or because of misdirected vocational or other interests.

Stages of Guidance. Guidance programs have been developed chiefly in the secondary-school field, starting with the period of early adolescence, generally known as the junior-high-school period and extending through the period of later adolescence generally known as the senior-high-school period. In the first of these stages, orientation of the individual to his potentialities and the opportunities open to him is given particular emphasis. Direct contact with the educational offering, and to some extent with the vocational and other opportunities of the community, is provided as broadly as possible. Short tryout courses, visits to community agencies, discussions of occupations, and other similar provisions represent the usual procedure. In the upper levels of the secondary school definite attempt is made to bring about some choice of occupation and the planning of an educational program that will lead to the chosen occupation or to further education necessary to meet its requirements. There is a growing feeling that greater emphasis should be placed upon educational guidance in harmony with the individual's potentialities, and that less attention should be devoted to early choice of vocation with the view to preparing definitely for it.

Although the chief emphasis on guidance has been in the field of secondary education, it is generally recognized that there is need for beginning the study of the individual, with a view to guidance, in the early stages of childhood. If later guidance is to be made effective, it is highly important that accurate data concerning the individual's growth, special aptitudes, and other important information shall be ac-

186 AMERICAN SECONDARY EDUCATION cumulated over a considerable period of childhood. With the recognition of individual differences, even in the preschool period, much valuable data can be accumulated which will aid in directing and motivating the individual before the beginning of adolescence. The period of childhood is particularly important with respect to the problem child. Frequently conditions have become so complicated by the end of the elementary-school period, through lack of understanding of the individual's needs, that a proper handling of the case may be almost impossible by the time the secondary school is reached. Many of the causes of overageness of pupils might be avoided if adequate guidance were provided from the beginning of the elementary-school period. Moreover, many of the cases of gifted pupils who have been retarded in their development could be discovered and effectively treated in the elementary school if more attention were given to the guidance program.

Orientation Programs. The need for guidance and advisory service in higher institutions has been demonstrated in numerous situations where personnel service has been carried on effectively. Much attention has been devoted in recent years to orientation programs, such as the common Freshman Year or, in a less extensive manner, through Freshman Week Programs. Most of this service has been inadequate because of the lack of facilities and sound procedures in dealing with problems of youth on the college level. The cases requiring guidance on this level are generally complicated and require the services of experts in the fields of education, psychology, sociology, economics, hygiene, medicine—including psychiatry. Even universities with their specialists

in all these fields find it extremely difficult to develop a satisfactory guidance program at this level. Some of the problems that demand attention and that represent complex situations for which many, or even all, of these specialists are required are student housing, feeding, social adjustment, religious adjustment, financial adjustment, development of special interests, and vocational choice. These problems demand not only the knowledge and skill of the expert but a type of application to the complex problems of a closely organized community for which the specialist is not qualified. The personnel officer, the deans of men and women, the medical and health advisors, the academic dean, and the employment service are constantly struggling with these problems. As a beginning in the solution of many of them, there is imperative need for a closer cooperation between the secondary school and the higher institution. The information provided in the record of transfer from secondary school to college or university is inadequate. Most of the information now available in such records deals with the details of academic achievement, and even that record is not made use of in the planning of the student's educational program. There is very little evidence of satisfactory character concerning the individual's physical and emotional characteristics. Evidences of his social development are generally unintelligible, and as a result the student plunges into the life of a new community in which competition demands a type of coordination of abilities which he is frequently unable to develop.

Procedures in Guidance. By implication, if not by direct reference, procedures in guidance have already been touched upon. In general the procedures in-

volve the gathering of personal and social data for the preparation of a life history of the individual. These data become the basis for advisory service and for general recommendations in adjustment cases. The personnel involved in guidance work, particularly in the secondary school, are the counselor, the dean, the home-room teacher, the classroom teacher, the principal; and, for special services, the medical, health, psychological, and psychiatric specialists. The counselor is the key to the guidance situation and is responsible for the coordination and interpretation of evidence and for the direct contacts with the individual in special need of assistance. The counselor's work is supplemented in many ways by the dean, the home-room sponsor, the classroom teacher, and the principal.

GUIDANCE FOR AMERICAN YOUTH—A PHILOSOPHY AND PROGRAM

The guidance of youth in America demands that a sound philosophy of guidance in relation to his education and adjustment to American life shall be developed and constantly expanded and interpreted with the growing complexity of social and economic life. Such a philosophy is concerned with problems of formal education and the steadily increasing informal education which must be provided if youth is to be capable of assuming responsibility in American society. Guidance must become one of the essential functions of society's educational agencies, and the personnel responsible for it must be readily available to all youth when problems arise. It must in the future be concerned largely with preventive programs and to a less degree with remedial programs. Many of the problems that are now requiring the

attention of such governmental agencies as the children's court would not be permitted to reach that stage if young people were protected from the results of poor choices of vocation, of friends and associates, of leisure-time activities and were made aware of the numerous pitfalls and blind alleys in their paths. This program of prevention might be extended through better provision for educational and advisory service to parents and other adults who influence the choices of young people. It is frequently recognized that the problems of children and youth are more readily solved through child-guidance clinics and other agencies that now exist primarily for the guidance of parents in the more intelligent treatment of their children. The possibilities of such a program are limitless, and this is perhaps the only solution to many of our pressing youth problems.

If such a program is to be really effective, a comprehensive plan for the collecting and organizing of a cumulative history of each individual should be devised and installed for the use of competent guidance personnel maintained by the community. This cumulative history should include as complete a record of the individual's experience and growth as it is possible to secure. Each aspect of personal and social relationships should be included; accurate measures of characteristics and progress along specific lines should be secured. This would make expert guidance service available to each individual when problems arise. Closely associated with such a guidance service would be the provision for education through which each individual would be able to develop his abilities along those lines for which he is best fitted. A constant service of placement or induction into the economic and social life of the commu-

nity should be provided. The educational program should be extended into adult life so that, in sudden adjustments of the economic structure which might displace individuals, vocational reeducation would be immediately possible. It is only through such a comprehensive provision for education and guidance of young people that America will be able to meet successfully the recurring periods of unemployment and social adjustment which have been a characteristic of its economic life.

CONCLUSIONS

Guidance is the performance of the directive function in education as distinguished from teaching as the performance of the instructional function in education. It has peculiar significance in a social order in which the individual has great freedom of choice in all his life activities. The freedom accorded to youth in America has made him especially vulnerable and open to error in his choice of vocation, educational program, social opportunities, and numerous other aspects of human experience. The need for guidance has been recognized and provided for in the choice of vocation and in the planning of an educational program preparing for the vocation, and there has been some emphasis upon guidance in moral and social relations. There is great need for the development of a continuous program of guidance throughout childhood and youth. There has not been sufficient attention given to guidance in the period of childhood, and the problems of guidance for older youth, particularly in relation to education on higher levels, have been difficult to solve because of their complex character and because of the inability to

apply expert knowledge to the numerous problems that have arisen on these levels.

With the increasing difficulties that confront the American youth, there is great need for the formulation of an expanding philosophy of guidance and a program of guidance that will meet the needs of all the youth of America. This program should develop hand in hand with the educational program and should be based upon comprehensive cumulative personal histories available to expert counselors whose services are constantly available to all the youth of the community. The program should also include plans for guidance in occupational readjustment and reeducation on the adult level, in order that the recurring periods of unemployment and social adjustment may be eliminated or their harmful effects diminished.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is the relation of guidance to education?
2. Prepare a list of problems of daily life among young people for the solution of which guidance is needed.
3. How do the problems confronting youth in the twentieth century differ from the problems of youth in the eighteenth century?
4. What kinds of information are necessary for effective guidance? Illustrate.
5. How can tests and examinations be used in guidance?
6. How can the classroom teacher function in the guidance program? Illustrate.
7. How can the home room be used as an agency in guidance?
8. What are the generally recognized functions of the counselor?
9. Criticize the guidance program in a selected secondary school.

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10. Suggest a plan for coordinating the agencies of the community for the guidance of youth.
11. What are some of the obvious dangers in ill-conceived guidance programs and procedures?

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CHAPTER VII

SOCIETY'S AGENTS FOR SECONDARY EDUCATION

America lags behind the countries of western Europe in its recognition of the professional service rendered by the teachers. This attitude on the part of the American public is hard to explain when one considers that the American people usually look to the school as the means of solving its many social and economic problems. These conflicting attitudes are probably due to the fact that for two and a half centuries the average citizen knew, or thought he knew, quite as much about teaching and the other aspects of education as those who were engaged in educational work. It is only in recent years that teaching and other related educational activities have been placed on a professional level, and that the restriction of the average citizen to the performance of the purely nonprofessional functions in education is a well-recognized policy.

The general attitude that the school can solve the major problems confronting the country has tended to shift to the school responsibilities that belonged in the past primarily to other social agencies. Many of the problems that are referred to the school for solution have for many centuries belonged to the home, the church, the occupational groups, the general cultural agencies, and in some instances the agencies for local government. The tendency to extend compulsory school attendance to sixteen and eighteen years

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of age is in effect shifting the responsibility from the home, occupational groups, and the agencies of government. The school has rapidly become the sole agency in the community for the oversight and care of all young people who are not otherwise engaged in the activities of other social agencies. It requires only superficial observation of the present situation in any American community to discover that the conventional educational agencies are no longer competent to perform many of the activities which American society wishes them to perform.

It is true that there has been a rapid increase in specialized personnel in the field of education during the past thirty years, and this movement reveals the greater need that exists for many other kinds of specialized educational service for which there are no competent professional agents. It is not the purpose, therefore, in this discussion to deal with the conventional secondary-school teacher alone but to consider all types of professional agents and the educational functions which they should perform in directing the education of youth in the present complex American society.

OUR FIRST TEACHERS

The members of any great profession should be greatly stimulated by an understanding of the way in which the profession has increased in its ability to serve its society. There is no profession among the so-called learned professions that has established itself more firmly as an agency for social betterment than has that of education. The term *education* is used in preference to *teaching* because of the many important activities other than teaching that have

become an essential part of the work of the organized agencies generally known as schools.

The entrance of the teacher as a special social agent was due to the fact that other members of society who were participating in the education of youth were conscious of their inability to carry on this activity in addition to their special vocations. In every society, parents have been the first teachers. Among primitive peoples, parents and other members of the community perform the functions of teacher in the educational programs which each primitive group has established. The static condition of primitive groups makes it relatively easy for the members of the community to induct the oncoming youth into existing society in almost exactly the same manner in which it has been done for generations. The procedure is simple and, if we may judge from the procedures in modern primitive groups, it is highly effective.

The departure from this method of education of the youth was necessary when man perfected instruments for the recording of experience. This immediately opened up avenues to learning that had never before existed. Man was no longer dependent upon the memory of the present generation, for he had available the recorded experience of other generations. The need for specialized service in education soon became apparent, and certain better-qualified individuals of the social group began to devote more time to the teaching of youth and thus relieved the other members of the community of these responsibilities. Early historic societies all recognize the teacher as a special agent for the education of children and youth. The teachers in the schools for youth were recognized as being superior to the teach-

ers in the schools for children. This superiority was attributed to them because of their greater knowledge, and consequently from the very earliest period of history the secondary-school teacher was stimulated to develop his cultural background as an essential qualification for teaching. Education on the elementary level continued to be the responsibility of parents and of certain members of the community who served more as caretakers and guardians than as teachers. The typical pedagogue of the Greeks and the schooldame of the colonial kitchen school were not really teachers but rather caretakers and guardians of the children intrusted to their care. The pedagogue was probably our first school-attendance officer and in some ways had a high conception of his service to the community or rather to the family that employed him, and to which he was attached as servant.

There is not a great deal of information concerning the professional status of the teacher in the ancient world, unless we may accept the more theoretical statements to be found in the writings of Plato, Aristotle, Quintilian, and in the more general writers of the period. It is quite obvious that the secondary school of that period was generally a small institution and usually presided over by one teacher. During the later period of the Roman Empire, schools, having increased in size and having become more stable, were able to employ teachers at fixed salaries. With the rise of ecclesiastical control of education, schools were established in monasteries and in cathedral towns, thus giving more permanence to them and providing greater possibility of growth.

EVOLUTION OF PROFESSIONAL AGENTS FOR
SECONDARY EDUCATION

Early Teachers. The development of the professional status of the secondary-school teacher continued with the improvement of schools and the accumulation of a theory of education. Among the contributors to this theory were such great teachers as Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, Quintilian. Through the efforts of these great teachers and formulators of educational theory, educational practice became professionalized, and the teacher as a social agent attained permanent recognition among the learned professions. Although there were outstanding teachers throughout the Middle Ages, there was apparently no further significant development of the status of the teacher until Johann Stürm, through his development of the *Gymnasium*, made it possible for schools to be organized on a professional basis. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Quintilian, Erasmus were great teachers, but Johann Stürm was the first secondary-school principal.

European Teachers. From the sixteenth century on, the need for leadership and for administrative competency increased with the steady expansion of the opportunity for secondary education. At first the heads of English secondary schools were the only teachers in the schools. As the number of boys increased in these schools, assistants were employed, chiefly to maintain order and discipline while the master taught. These disciplinarians were generally known as ushers, and if they were intelligent they learned the art of teaching through observation and frequently were given some part of the teaching to do. In this way the English secondary schools came

to recognize the assistant master, a title which still exists. Aside from the growth in numbers of assistant masters, there was no further expansion of the professional staff of the secondary schools in England until the need arose for the librarian and, in a few schools, the curator of the museum. In boarding schools, the housemaster developed into a position of importance, but no other specialized professional staff members seemed to be needed in the English schools. On the continent, particularly in France, the counterpart of usher in the English school has developed into an important personage with powers practically coordinate with the powers of the head of the school. This person is known as the *censeur*, who is usually an older staff member who has displayed exceptional ability to deal with discipline. The *proviseur*, the educational head, is thus relieved of responsibility for general discipline and devotes his time to supervision of the educational processes. The teacher has in some countries been classified into different grades, the highest grade being generally given the title of instructor or professor with other appropriate titles given to various lower grades.

Latin-grammar-school Teachers. When the secondary school of England was transported to America, it was a one-teacher school and for a long period remained such. The Latin grammar school was never very popular in America, and for that reason the demand for Latin-school masters was small. These men were generally college or university graduates, the first of them having been educated in English universities and later, as the American college developed, receiving their preparation in these institutions. Their preparation in early days was generally

for the ministry, and the school, being an adjunct of the church, was naturally presided over by members of the clergy. In time this practice of employing ministers as teachers slowly gave way to the selection of lay teachers, and we have examples of men like John Quincy Adams, who prepared himself for teaching and later studied law and left the teaching profession. The break between the church and state in this country was perhaps largely responsible for the tendency to employ lay teachers almost exclusively in American secondary schools.

Academy and Early High-school Teachers. The rise of the academy in America was of very great significance to the future of the teaching profession. The first academy, established in Philadelphia in 1751, had for one of its purposes the preparation of teachers. Although the academy did not provide a program for the education of the secondary-school teacher, it did provide an atmosphere conducive to the growth of interest in teaching on the part of the young people who came in contact with it. The first normal school in America grew out of an academy at Plymouth, Vermont, in 1823. Academies such as Phillips Exeter early developed an English program, the purpose of which was to prepare young people who desired to enter teaching, especially in the elementary schools. Later in the nineteenth century when high schools for girls began to appear, they recognized the importance of this function of the academy and were frequently established as high and normal schools, the chief function being to prepare girls for teaching in the elementary schools of the community. The high schools for girls in Philadelphia and Boston were both established about the

Professional Education for Teachers. From the founding of Harvard College in 1636, this type of institution became the agency for the preparation of secondary-school teachers. The old theory that the secondary-school teacher was superior because of his knowledge continued to influence the education of secondary-school teachers until the close of the nineteenth century. Professors of didactics or pedagogy were established in a number of American universities during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and in this manner the professional education for secondary-school teachers and administrators began. This movement was slow at first, but gradually spread throughout the United States. With the turn of the century the rapidly increasing enrollments in secondary schools created a demand for teachers, principals, and other specialized staff members that made it imperative that more time be given to the professional education of secondary-school personnel. Practically all the important colleges and universities in the United States developed departments of education, or colleges for teachers were established as regular undergraduate or graduate schools in these institutions. The growth of these professional-education programs has been so rapid that they have frequently lacked a sound basis, and a number of these institutions are now revising their professional schools, giving recognition to the more fundamental professional needs of personnel in the field. The most recent tendency is the elevation of the old state normal schools to the level of four-year colleges, with the power to grant degrees. Many of the programs that have been developed have neglected

almost entirely the academic fields and have given undue emphasis to the so-called professional courses.

Professional vs. Liberal-arts Courses. The apparent antagonism of some higher institutions toward specialized teachers' colleges has been due largely to the fact that it appears to be an invasion of the traditional rights of the liberal-arts college, which in the beginning was the recognized institution for the preparation of secondary-school teachers in this country. Much has been done, however, by the professional leaders, including the members of university staffs in charge of teacher education, to develop a friendly and cooperative attack on the problem. There has frequently been no clear understanding of, or interest in, the professional objectives on the part of those departments of universities that have provided the academic training. On the other hand, there has frequently been a tendency on the part of the professional group to ignore the academic education needs of the secondary-school teacher and to overstress the professional requirements. This has frequently resulted in superficial knowledge of the subject fields and a purely technical training in the solving of routine problems. Perhaps one of the most important outcomes of the emphasis upon professional study has been the increase of interest in the study of the learner and his environment. Closely associated with this has been an interest in the study of the efficiency of the institution and its personnel. This has led to a recognition of the need for a more highly specialized personnel and expansion in the outlook of the school staff with respect to the services which it should render in the education and welfare of youth.

PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL AND FUNCTIONS

Broader Aspects of Education. The interest in the solution of professional problems arising in our more complex educational situations has made the profession conscious of the broader aspects of education. The profession is no longer merely a profession of teaching, because directing learning involves the performance of many functions other than the teaching function. With the shift in emphasis from the subject taught and the traditional activities of the teacher to directing the growth of the learner, the need for better-educated administrators, guidance counselors, supervisors, librarians, psychologists, health specialists, and many other specialized personnel has been recognized.

Administrative and Social-contact Personnel. The growth of large secondary schools has increased the demand for better-educated administrators as secondary-school principals. Along with this demand is that for specialized administrative assistants, such as assistant principals, registrars, deans, and chief clerks, who are not only capable of directing the routine office work but who are capable of meeting the student body and the general public in a professional manner when they contact the office of the school. Closely associated with the special administrative personnel of the school are those types of personnel that represent the school in direct contact with the home and other community agencies. The attendance officer and the home and school visitor have become of special importance to the school. In the development of better home and school relations, in some schools in which the contact with community agencies is essential to the development of a broad

educational program in the community, there has arisen the need for a special personnel for coordinating the formal school program with the educational program to which the community agencies make a contribution. This type of personnel has been of particular importance in commercial and industrial education. It is likely to become of even greater importance if the program of secondary education for older youth should lead to cooperative educational activities of the various community agencies.

Special Personnel. In addition to these professional agents who require professional training in varying degrees, there has also developed a demand for personnel educated primarily for other professional activities, such as medicine, social work, dentistry, and other similar fields. Response to this demand has led to specialization of physicians along the line of school health work, or oral hygienists for dental service in schools, and similar types of professional agents. As the need arises for special educational services overlapping other professional fields it will be necessary to recognize other types of special personnel.

Community-service Personnel. If the program of education for American youth should expand systematically to include educational programs based upon noncompetitive "work" projects and community service, the demand for specialized personnel to direct these activities will immediately extend the opportunities for professional service beyond anything that has been contemplated in our formal education for vocations and citizenship. Directors of noncompetitive "work" and community-service programs will need to be prepared to supervise these programs for educational purposes. The community

will become, through such types of programs, an expanded secondary school. If adequate programs are to be developed in each community there will be great need for professionally educated leaders of young people in every community who must recognize the fundamental educational values of such work and who have vision and skill in administering such activities. In like manner, the community cultural and recreational health programs can be made truly educational only when a community has available properly educated music leaders who know how to develop suitable musical programs, leaders in dramatics who can direct the youth of the community in the little-theater activities, and other similar specialized personnel who know how to develop the cultural and recreational interests of young people outside the formal school. In this connection, the increased interest in physical and health activities for recreation will demand the preparation of large numbers of such educated specialists. It is impossible in this brief discussion to indicate the needs and possibilities for developing a broadly functioning educational service in each American community. Dependence cannot be placed upon private agencies or upon the cooperative activity of individuals who are primarily concerned with other vocations, although their interest and cooperation will be absolutely essential for the success of such programs.

Changing Function of the Teacher. It should be obvious from this discussion that the function of the teacher has in recent years changed significantly from that of conventional instruction to that of directing learning. This change has had much to do with the development of a less dogmatic, nonsocial attitude on the part of the teacher. When the teacher

recognizes that education is a varied process involving many activities, in school and out, in which the individual participates, the importance of specialized subject matter has a different significance. He will no longer see himself as the autocrat of the classroom, but will become the adviser, coworker, and friend of the learner. He will be interested in helping the individual to bring about his own adjustment to life and will see the need for a program of education in which the individual can have some measure of success. His field of learning will no longer serve merely as a source of subject matter for lesson learning, but he will visualize it as a reservoir of human experience which he will assist youth in using as a means of understanding their own experiences. To use subject matter in this manner, the teacher of youth must have a more intensive as well as a more extended knowledge of his special and related fields of learning.

QUALIFICATIONS ESSENTIAL FOR PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL

Future Education of Personnel. If the specialization of personnel which has occurred within the past thirty years is to represent a continuing policy in American secondary education, and if the new types of personnel are to be developed to perform the functions that have been indicated above, the opportunities for professional service will continue to expand and attract better-qualified professional agents. Perhaps the most important problem now confronting American education is that of educating professional agents required for the great variety of services in the education of youth. The traditional practices in *training* teachers for secondary-school

teaching must give way to new practices emphasizing the *education* of professional personnel for directing the education and welfare of youth. Functions will have to be clearly designated and programs of professional education outlined with a view to securing a broad understanding and appreciation of youth's needs for education and a much more effective education for the specialized service to be rendered by each type of personnel.

The new program. The planning of comprehensive programs of professional education in each of the institutions desiring to provide personnel for work in secondary education must recognize the new personnel functions. It will no doubt take years for existing institutions to reorganize and redirect their programs and methods of professional education. Even in schools operating narrow and conventional academic secondary-school programs, it has been almost impossible to secure competent teachers and other necessary personnel, and this problem will be greatly increased if a larger service for the education and welfare of youth is to be provided. There is a lack of general scholarship as a fundamental background for secondary-school teaching, and to make matters worse such scholarship attainments as are found in teachers are not made effective because of the lack of relationship between professional and general academic education. The greatest weakness on the part of many secondary-school teachers is lack of specialization in any field of learning. It is generally difficult to find, even in our better secondary schools, men and women who are specialists in any field of scholarship. Such conditions would not be tolerated in any of the leading foreign countries. Good secondary schools in England demand honor graduates

of the universities as a minimum requirement for teaching. Continental schools look upon the teacher in the secondary school as a highly educated specialist, having the same relation to the general social welfare as the physician or other important professional agent. This high standing on the part of the secondary-school personnel is revealed in the prominent status of the secondary-school teacher in local and even in national affairs. Even though he is generally recognized as a state official, he is free from the influence of local politics and other social and economic influences that restrict the functioning of the teacher in the United States.

Supervisory education. One of the weakest features with respect to the professional staff of the American secondary school is that of supervision, because of the extreme variations in the size of the secondary schools. There is great shortage of supervisors who are competent to direct the programs of secondary education in state and local systems. The development of the supervisor as an effective professional agent has scarcely begun as far as secondary education is concerned. Such development as has occurred is narrowly restricted to classroom supervision and has failed to recognize the broader aspects of the provision of education for young people. There is need for the development of a new policy with respect to the field generally known as supervision. The present narrow concept of secondary-school supervision should be replaced by the concept of improving the processes of directing the learning of youth through the cooperation of all who are concerned with the task.

Education for guidance activities. In view of the significant change in the character of the program of

secondary education to meet the needs of all young people, personnel for guidance activities must receive special consideration. At the present time the chief professional guidance agent is generally known as the counselor. The need for the extension of such services in every community demands the development of new types of personnel for the conduct of such work. Among these are the visiting teacher, whose function should be to develop better relations between home and school, the coordinator whose function should be to develop proper relations between school activities and community activities of individual youths who are on cooperative educational programs, and community counselors for older youth who can provide advisory service concerning further education and preparation for vocational and citizenship activities. There is needed also a health service in the nature of guidance for all the young people of a community, directors of leisure-time activities who will serve partly as supervisory and directive agents and partly as guidance counselors. The possibilities for bringing the individual youth to the point where he will take over his responsibilities as a member of the community would be tremendously enhanced if such provision for guidance and counseling could be made in every community. The qualifications of this group of professional agents, although they have not been clearly set forth, might be easily indicated if one were to analyze their activities or the activities which need to be performed in every community. In general, one might indicate these qualifications as follows:

1. A high level of intellectual ability
2. A broad general education in the great fields of learning

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3. Intensive specialization in a field of special interest and related fields and in the principles and practices related to the professional activities to be performed

4. A full understanding of the relationship of these activities to the main problem of the education of youth and a full recognition of the educational needs of American youth in a dynamic social order.

Summary of Aims. It is quite clear that any such approach to the provision of professional personnel for the education of American youth must break definitely with traditional practice and proceed boldly to outline a program for the future which will recognize education as resulting from all the experiences of the individual in his contact with his environment. If education is to be sound and useful to each youth as an individual and as a member of his social groups, it must be wisely directed at all points. It should not be conceived as limited to a particular age period but should result in the youth's successful induction into full membership in the adult life of the community.

NONPROFESSIONAL AGENTS FOR SECONDARY EDUCATION

Contributions concerned with secondary education have generally limited their treatment to the professional agent, and usually the teacher is the only one given any definite consideration. If the program for the education of youth as suggested in this discussion is to function properly, due recognition must be given to a wide range of nonprofessional agents in secondary education. Some of these agents are representatives of professions other than education; some

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of them are technicians and even relatively untrained agents whose efficiency determines to some degree the success of the total educational program. The most important of nonprofessional agents are certain representatives of other professions, such as the medical profession. The chief of these representatives are the physician, the dentist, the psychologist, the psychiatrist, and the social worker. In a somewhat different way, the engineer and the architect should play an important part in providing for secondary education. It is very important that physicians understand the educational needs of youth. Health should be considered not from a remedial but from a preventive point of view; young people should learn how to keep well, not only how to get well. Every community should have a highly qualified physician whose chief concern should be to develop an appreciation for the preventive aspect of medicine among the oncoming generations of youth. The same would apply to other specialists in this field, such as the dentist, the oculist and those who may be needed for special services in promoting health and better living conditions among young people. In recent years, the recognition of the emotional factor in human development has called attention to a need for expert services for adjustment of emotional difficulties among both young and old. It is highly important in every American community that attention be given early to problems of individual unadjustment. It would be far more economical for the community to supply such services in abundance than to incarcerate for long periods those who are unable to adjust themselves to the environmental conditions surrounding them.

As the program of education of youth extends out-

side the school into the great variety of situations which a community provides, it is quite obvious that many types of agents will be called upon to participate in providing opportunity for education. Among these are such agents as factory foremen, heads of departments in commercial agencies, directors of playgrounds and camp activities, and numerous other similar types of agents. The problems suggested here are likely to increase within the next few years, because of the necessity of substituting education for employment for a large percentage of American youth from sixteen to twenty years of age. These agents will need to be made conscious of the part they are playing in the educational program and should be expected to recognize the necessity for full cooperation with the many other professional and nonprofessional educational agencies of the community.

COOPERATION OF AGENCIES FOR SECONDARY EDUCATION

The education of youth in America is no longer a process of a highly specialized activity conducted in institutions removed from the life for which the youth are being prepared. Within recent years, it has become increasingly evident that education is a function of all community institutions, even though their primary functions may have to do with other types of service. In the education of youth, a democratic society is finding it necessary to return to the practices of primitive society, where every social agency makes some contribution to the education of youth. The reason for this is in large measure a psychological one. Only the most brilliant intellectual youths can profit by theoretical and formal educa-

tion alone. The great masses of young people learn best through participation in the activities of life. This condition exists among primitive peoples, and the only effective educational procedure is participation in the life of the group. Although civilized peoples may improve the means and methods of participation, the principle of action remains the same.

If American youth are to profit by a longer period of education, the great majority of them should have a program in which participation in the activities of the community will become an increasingly important feature. The tendency of American institutions to depend upon the school to provide the entire educational program must give way to a practice in which every agency in the community will hold itself responsible and ready to cooperate in a broad program of education of all the youth. Professional leadership in the development of such programs will still fall upon the shoulders of the regularly constituted educational agency, the school, but it will be in many instances a coordinating agency. Its function will become largely one of developing cooperative activities. It will have for its aim the linking of the great variety of community agencies whose facilities may be available for the broad educational program demanded for all the youth of the community. The school will, moreover, serve as the guardian of youth against the selfish desires of some community agencies that have not yet arrived, and perhaps never will arrive, at a full realization of their social responsibilities.

CONCLUSIONS

Education in a democracy cannot be delegated entirely to the teacher as the sole professional agent,

although the teacher must continue to be the professional leader in the field of education. There is great need for the cooperation of a great variety of community agents in the education of youth. The necessity for the development of new types of professional personnel is obvious from any study of trends during the last thirty years. Many special problems have arisen for the solution of which the teacher cannot be adequately prepared. Personnel representing other professional groups must be brought into the services of education in the community. The most important of these are to be found in the field of medicine, dentistry, psychiatry, social work, engineering, architecture, and in the field of the technical vocations and commerce. The great lack in American secondary education is the shortage of qualified personnel. This is true of the teaching and supervisory personnel as well as of the newer types of personnel that have been brought into the schools in recent years. It is absolutely essential that the functions to be performed shall be clearly understood and that an adequate program of professional education shall be developed for each type of personnel.

The school must call upon the various agencies of society to cooperate in the provision of an educational program suited to all the youth of America. Professional leadership must be provided by the school, and other social agencies should recognize the necessity for participation in the education of the youth of the community. The professional personnel must be educated to cooperate effectively with all the agencies concerned with the solution of the problems of inducting the youth into his community life.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Who performed the functions of the teacher before formal schools were established?
2. What persons or social agents other than teachers continue to perform educational functions?
3. As secondary education increased in importance as a social service what other types of professional personnel were established to extend the provisions for the education of youth?
4. Prepare a list of the types of personnel employed in a typical large secondary school. Designate the primary functions of each type of personnel.
5. Prepare a list of types of personnel in institutions other than schools that participate in providing for the education and welfare of youth. Designate the educational and welfare functions performed by each.
6. Prepare a detailed statement of the desirable qualifications of the secondary school teacher in the United States.
7. What is a "creative" teacher? Illustrate.
8. What areas of service concerned with the education and welfare of youth need qualified personnel?
9. Make a comparative study of the status of the secondary-school teacher in the United States and one foreign country.
10. Prepare a diagram showing by five-year periods the increase in secondary-school professional staff, 1890 to 1935.
11. Write a short paper on the opportunities for professional service in secondary education in the United States.
12. Write a short paper on the influence of professional organizations on the improvement of American secondary education.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE SECONDARY SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

As society developed, and as the human being in his social relations learned to solve problems in certain ways, the procedures which were developed in this empirical fashion were gradually formulated into definite institutions. The simplest primitive society at the present time, or at any time in the past, has had some form of school or educational institution. It is of special interest to the secondary-school teacher that the first school to formulate a definite institutional pattern was the secondary school. Elementary education, as understood at the present time, remained an informal process long after the secondary school had become institutionalized. This institutionalization of secondary education has followed identical lines of development in practically all important civilized countries except the United States. It is the purpose of this chapter to trace the development of the secondary school as a social institution and to show wherein America has departed from the lines of development that characterized other civilized peoples.

SOCIETY AND THE RISE OF FORMAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The history of the human race is that of the conflict of groups striving to maintain their identity and to perpetuate their own peculiar customs, traditions,

and ideals. When any group because of its increased strength was able to subdue another, larger and larger social organizations tended to develop. The safety of the group became increasingly dependent upon the degree to which each new generation was indoctrinated and became an integral part of the group. Induction into full membership in the tribal society was generally preceded by a period of education in which the traditions and customs and ideals of the group were made a part of the knowledge and understanding and appreciation of the adolescent youth. Adolescence has always been considered an important learning period among all peoples, and usually at the close of this period the induction of the youth into tribal membership has taken place with impressive ceremonies. It has been considered by all such primitive groups as highly important that no mistakes be made in the selection of those fitted for full membership. Consequently, following the period of formal instruction which varied greatly with different groups, a system of testing was provided, the nature of these tests being determined largely by the nature of the personal and social qualities demanded of the members of the group. If courage were an important attribute of the members of a tribal group, severe tests were set, and no youth was permitted to be inducted into full citizenship in the tribe unless he satisfied those who conducted the test. There are records of extremely painful physical tests involving laceration of the body and of torture by fire or other equally severe means.

In a similar manner, other character traits considered essential were tested in the most rigorous manner possible. Primitive peoples, therefore, have determined empirically the two aspects of secondary

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education provided for in the development of the secondary school as an institution. The first of these is the development of the understanding and appreciation of the cultural achievements of the group. The second is the provision for means and methods of evaluating results. Closely allied with the former aspect of secondary education was the determination of the qualifications to be attained, and associated with the latter was the fixing of standards of achievement in line with these qualifications.

EVOLUTION OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

Primitive Education of Youth. For thousands of years the functions involved in providing secondary education were performed chiefly by tribal representatives, usually those who had established a place in the tribe because of their seniority and local prestige. These individuals were assigned the functions of educating the youth because of their experience and prominence and their accumulated knowledge of tribal traditions and customs. It was impossible without a written language to record the tribal experience, and it had, therefore, to be perpetuated by word of mouth from one generation to another. Some tribes had accumulated a wealth of cultural materials which they transmitted in this way. Examples of such cultural transmission are to be found in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the Hebrew Bible, and other similar cultural contributions which have since been reduced to written form. With the invention of symbols for the recording of ideas, there developed rapidly the instrument known as the written language. As the existing culture elements were reduced to writing, the possibility of delegating the formal education of youth to a smaller number of

the tribal group was soon recognized, and especially selected agents known as teachers were designated.

Historic Education of Youth. From the beginning these special agents were selected because of their learning rather than on the basis of their ability to teach. They learned to teach very much as the fisherman learned to fish, through experience. As the group of teachers increased in numbers, the apprenticeship method in a simple form gradually developed. A great teacher, such as Socrates, prepared other teachers like Plato, and Plato in turn prepared other great teachers, such as Aristotle. The preparation, however, was obtained through observation of the master and through assisting him in the performance of his professional duties. The teacher of the secondary school has always been an individual of intelligence and of considerable reputation in his community. A large measure of this recognition has been due, of course, to his superior knowledge, at least in the eyes of his community.

For a long time the secondary school depended for its reputation upon the teacher who conducted it. Although these early schools were frequently passed on from one teacher to another, they were dependent for their success and for their reputation upon the reputation of the teacher. These schools were, moreover, generally movable and not attached to any particular location. They frequently had no material existence but were conducted on the porches of public buildings and in parks and groves. They were essentially moving schools and were transferred as easily as the master could transfer himself from one place to another. An example of a school of this early type is found in the case of Jesus and his disciples. They walked about from place to place, the

It is true that these schools frequently developed in great centers of learning, such as Athens and Alexandria. These centers drew great scholars, who in turn drew students. With the expansion of the Roman empire throughout the known world and its assumption of the problem of organizing the contributions of vanquished peoples, we have the beginning of formal organization of educational institutions. Although Isocrates, Plato, and Aristotle had schools, there seems to have been a lack of definite organization. The first formally organized secondary school was probably the Roman grammar school, which was recognized as the model for the school of the orator in the later Roman period and was adopted in form as the church school when the church took over the educational program that had been developed by the Roman state. Among the schools that were developed under the auspices of the church during the medieval period were those known as monastic schools, cathedral schools, and conventional schools. These schools became definite institutions with a fixed location and a more or less fixed program, and the flexibility and intangible character of the early secondary school rapidly disappeared.

The period of the Middle Ages was an era of consolidation and conservation of educational experience by the Roman church. Extreme formality was the result and continued until the Renaissance injected a new spirit into the school, as well as into other social institutions. The first example of the break from the traditions of the Roman grammar

school is that of Vittorino da Feltre's school known as the *Pleasant House*. He returned to some extent to the spirit of the primitive school, although he retained some characteristics of the existing church schools. Da Feltre recognized, as did primitive peoples, the very great importance of human experience as a means of education. He placed special stress upon physical and social activity and tended to reduce the emphasis upon purely formal learning.

Unfortunately the direct effects of the Renaissance upon education were short-lived and few schools of the type of the Pleasant House developed. The Roman grammar school preserved by the church became a model for the secondary school throughout Europe and the western hemisphere. This is illustrated in the organization of the *Gymnasium* as a typical continental secondary school in 1538 by Johann Stürm. The program of the *Gymnasium*, although different in details, was a natural successor to the Roman grammar school and its successors, the monastic and cathedral schools. This school has become in the modern world the typical community secondary school in which Latin, or in some instances other disciplines, have furnished the core of the curriculum.

English Education of Youth. An interesting development in English secondary education which grew out of the monastic and cathedral schools is generally known as the English public school. Although there were schools in England throughout the early centuries of the Christian era, the historians of English education usually accept the founding of Winchester College in 1382 as representing the beginning of a new epoch in English secondary education. This institution, which still exists as one

of the most famous of English secondary schools, set the pattern for the English boarding school for boys and, to a considerable extent, for all types of secondary schools in England. It must be recognized, however, that the English secondary school has drawn significantly upon the traditional Roman grammar school, which was the model for the German *Gymnasium*. The difference between the English public school and the German *Gymnasium* may be characterized as a difference in conception of the educational process.

The English school reverts to some extent to the primitive conception of education as resulting from participation in community life, although it recognizes the disciplinary values in such cultural elements as grammar and mathematics. It considers as absolutely essential the development of programs for the participation of the learner in the life of the school community. The English public school, without any apparent contact with Vittorino da Feltre, developed something of the same idea of participation as an essential principle in secondary education. This ideal, in spite of the influence of continental Latin-school practices, has permeated all types of secondary schools in England.

The influence of the German *Gymnasium* is seen in the development of the grammar schools in England. These schools were established in large numbers during the sixteenth century as local secondary schools to provide educational opportunity to boys of good family who were not able to attend the public schools. With the Puritan Reformation and the lack of opportunity for members of the Puritan church for education in the established church schools, there grew up a Puritan grammar school

somewhat after the plan of the "academy" described by John Milton.

American Education of Youth. The Latin grammar school. It was this school which was transplanted to New England in 1635 with the founding of the Boston Latin School. In 1696 the King William School, representing the grammar school of the established church, was opened in Annapolis. The Puritan grammar school, however, spread more rapidly than did the Anglican grammar school of the Southern colonies, and in so far as the Latin grammar school has a place in American secondary education, it has developed the characteristics of the New England Puritan type. During the seventeenth century the New England grammar school, which had been established by law in Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1647, spread throughout the New England colonies. Perhaps the chief reason for its spread was the force of the authority of the clergy who dominated the political and social life of New England up to the eighteenth century. With the gradual elimination of the Indian as an enemy of the white man, the small concentrated New England town disintegrated and spread into the open country. This resulted in the breakdown of the Latin grammar school as an educational institution and paved the way for the development of the academy which served more effectively the needs of a provincial society.

The academy. The first academy was established in America through the influence of Benjamin Franklin, when he and other prominent Philadelphians opened the Philadelphia Publick Academy in 1751. It is interesting to note that the first *Realschule* was established in 1747 in Berlin and had

the same general characteristics as the academy. These two schools grew out of the rapidly increasing interest in science and its applications to the problems of modern life. This new school shifted the emphasis from the humanistic-cultural element in its program to the scientific and modern element. It was a recognition of the fundamental relation between the school and the society which it served. It represented a partial return from the highly theoretical and general educational concept to the original concept of education as the harmonious development of the individual in his social relationships. The academy was of peculiar significance in its American setting because it represented the effort on the part of the heterogeneous American communities to educate their youth for participation in the life of the new world. It was essentially an experimental school, although experimentalism was largely a matter of empirical determination.

The high school. As the American states developed and organized themselves into a more perfect union, the consciousness of need for an appropriate education for youth grew with increasing rapidity. The attention of the new nation was just beginning to turn westward after the "second war of independence" when the citizens of Boston petitioned their school committee for the establishment of a school which they called the English Classical School. The spirit which motivated the establishment of this school was the spirit which caused the establishment of the early academy. This first American high school was established in Boston in 1821 and immediately aroused the interest of other communities throughout New England. In 1824 the town of Worcester established a similar

school for girls, and in 1826 Boston established its first high school for girls. Other towns had followed the example of Boston and Worcester, and in 1828 the Legislature of Massachusetts passed its first high-school law. During the first twenty years following 1821, many communities throughout New England and in other parts of the country established public high schools. Some of these represented the transfer of private academies to public-school authorities, and others represented an extension of the Latin grammar school to include an English-high-school program. Gradually the Latin grammar school was absorbed and became the classical department of the public high school.

Among the important early public high schools in this country may be mentioned Boston English Classical School, later called Boston English High School, Portland High School, Worcester High School, Hartford Public High School, Philadelphia Central High School, and Cincinnati Woodward High School. During the pre-Civil War period, many of the academies, because of the failure of support from private sources, were discontinued, and their properties were in many cases transferred to the public-education authorities. During the period of the war and the years immediately following, there was a lull in the development of public as well as of private secondary schools.

The withdrawal of the academy from competition paved the way for the greater development of the public high school when the country had recovered from civil strife sufficiently to continue its educational expansion. Beginning with the early seventies, there was an increasing demand for public high schools. This was reflected in the legislation and

court decisions of that period. The public high school had not yet been recognized everywhere as the legal agent to provide for all types of secondary education. The general principle of public support for secondary education was enunciated in the Kalamazoo decision in 1874 when a citizen in Kalamazoo brought suit against the Board of Education to prohibit the expenditure of public funds to provide instruction in foreign languages. In rendering the decision, Judge Cooley pointed out that the high school had assumed the responsibility for the secondary education of youth and that since the founding of secondary education in New England it had been recognized that such education should include instruction in foreign languages and other fields of learning of higher grade.

Throughout the latter third of the nineteenth century the growth in public high schools increased steadily. Not only did the high schools increase in numbers but the pattern of secondary education became standardized in terms of formal programs of an academic character. The standardization of the program of secondary education was consummated with the report of the Committee of Ten in 1893, when it was recommended that the programs to be offered should be one or more of four prescribed types—Classical, Latin-scientific, Modern Languages, and English. It was further stated by the Committee that the public high school should not be considered as strictly a college preparatory school but that each of its curriculums should be a kind of preparation for college. It was evident, when this report was submitted to the educators of the country, that it would not continue long to satisfy the increasing demand

for types of education that would appeal to a new group of youth clamoring for education.

Here and there over the country, programs for commercial education and for other vocations, such as the mechanical trades, were being instituted. With the increasing wealth of the country and the rapid development of industrialization, there began an unprecedented growth in the secondary-school population. As a result of many surface movements and undercurrents of a scientific and professional character, the National Education Association appointed in 1912 the Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education. This commission did pioneer work in the reorientation of the profession toward a broader concept of education for all the youth. The result has been a tremendous expansion in programs of secondary education and the development of a clear conception of the responsibility of American society for the education of all the youth.

The modern high school is America's contribution to the development of the secondary school as an institution. There is no institution for secondary education like it in any other civilized country. It has for its goal the provision of an opportunity for education to all the youth of the community.

Future of American Secondary Education. Experimentation with the modern high school since the turn of the century has revealed the fact that the attainment of the goal which it set up will perhaps require greater changes in the character of the secondary school and its program than have been accomplished to date in this new institution. It is becoming increasingly clear that the school, because of its peculiar traditions, and because it is an independent social institution, cannot render full edu-

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cational service to the youth without securing the cooperation of numerous other social agencies. If secondary education is to be substituted for the questionable occupations of idle youth and if it is to provide a desirable substitute for the employment which former generations usually secured at the age of sixteen or earlier, it must relate its activities more definitely to the needs of individuals and the demands of the communities in which they live. America has an opportunity to make a special contribution to a larger and better program of education for all the youth, and this contribution can be made only through constructive educational leadership in a cooperative educational program involving many community agencies.

EXISTING TYPES OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND THEIR PECULIAR FUNCTIONS

Classification According to Type. Secondary schools in America, as contrasted with secondary schools in foreign countries, perform a variety of functions. With few exceptions, foreign secondary schools are schools for general education. All special forms of education for youth in foreign countries are provided in types of schools that are not recognized as secondary schools. In America, on the other hand, secondary schools are of three general types according to function:

1. Schools that provide for general education
2. Schools that provide for special types of education
3. Schools that provide a comprehensive program both general and specialized

General schools. General secondary schools in-

clude those older types of public schools and private or independent schools whose major functions are preparation for college and the provision of a terminal general education. Examples of this type are Boston Latin School, Philadelphia Girls' High School, Phillips Andover Academy, and many other schools with a long academic tradition.

Specialized schools. Specialized secondary schools are of great variety and include such schools as the commercial high school, vocational or trade schools of secondary grade, schools for the deaf and blind, and schools for socially delinquent youth, sometimes known as reform schools. An increasing number of schools of junior-college grade provide education for semiprofessional occupations, such as nursing schools, elementary teacher-training or normal schools, mechanics institutes, schools of business administration, and the like.

Comprehensive schools. With the development of the modern high school an attempt has been made to combine the general and special functions in one comprehensive secondary school. No other country has attempted to develop a secondary school of this type, and our experience with this type of institution has led to considerable difference of opinion as to the efficiency of such a comprehensive institution. Its supporters claim for it that it is the only type of secondary school that can be truly democratic, in that it attempts to provide educational opportunities for all the youth of the community. The opponents of the comprehensive secondary school argue with equal fervor that it loses sight of important objectives in secondary education in attempting to be all things to all pupils, and as a consequence fails to accomplish well any one thing for which it

assumes responsibility. Many smaller communities are practically forced to depend upon the comprehensive high school, since it would be uneconomical to attempt to provide separate general and specialized schools.

Classification According to Organization. In addition to the classification of schools as indicated above, secondary schools in America have been classified according to type of organization. The common basis for this classification is the grades included in the school. The standard secondary school of America has been for a long time the four-year school including grades nine to twelve. The recommendations of the Commission on Reorganization give recognition to a number of other types of grade organization.

Reorganized high schools. These types are all related in one way or another to the six-year period for secondary education which the Commission recommended. In large communities, the organization of the school into two levels of three grades each has found considerable justification from the standpoint of administrative efficiency. The junior high school, including grades seven to nine, is followed by a senior high school of grades ten to twelve. In smaller communities, there is a tendency to combine the junior and senior schools into a six-year secondary school including grades seven to twelve. These are in general the most important types of organization, although there are many other varieties found.

The junior college. As the wealth of the country increased and as the number of young people between the ages of twelve and eighteen decreased in relation to the adult population, the tendency to

provide for further education has led to a rapid development of what is now known as the junior college. The junior college includes the two years following the regular secondary-school period and is considered merely an extension of the secondary-school period upward. It recognizes the fact that the American liberal-arts college is an institution for secondary and higher education—a kind of transition from general education on the secondary level to specialized higher education on the level of the university. The junior college has also been established as a school for specialized education for nurses, accountants, elementary teachers, and a variety of technical services.

The California plan. In recent years there has been a further reorganization in certain areas, particularly California, which provides for the grouping of the junior high school, senior high school, and junior college into two four-year units, placing grades seven to ten in the junior or lower division and grades eleven to fourteen in the senior or upper division. This plan of reorganization has considerable merit, in that it provides a longer period for each school and thus eliminates the undesirable breaks which are found in the junior-senior high school-junior college plan. Moreover, the four-year junior school is more homogeneous as to the social and psychological characteristics of its population than would be the case in the six-year high school. It has the added merit of combining the last two years of high school with the first two years of the liberal-arts college in which there has been considerable overlapping of programs, much disagreement as to procedures, and poor articulation.

The Gary plan. Mention should be made also of

an important departure from the types of organization mentioned above—organization according to the so-called Gary plan. In this plan the entire program of elementary and secondary education is included in one school. The chief merit of the plan is that it provides better administration for continuity of growth of the individual throughout his elementary and secondary education. Objections which have possible justification are that the differences in the extremes of early childhood and later youth due to psychological and social factors create important problems in a twelve-year school that would not be found if the elementary and secondary schools were kept separate; and in large communities such an organization tends toward large schools, a condition which is being looked upon with considerable disfavor.

Classification According to Control and Support. A third basis for the classification of schools according to types is that of control and support. There are two main classifications of secondary schools in this country that require consideration: (1) public schools and (2) independent schools. The great majority of American secondary schools are public or governmental as to control and support. The only sections of the United States that have considerable numbers of independent, or private or nonpublic schools, are the East and South. There is, however, a rapidly increasing group of nonpublic schools in large cities under the control of the Catholic church. There is also an increase in independent nonchurch schools of an experimental and country-day-school type. These schools have developed largely because of the growing dissatisfaction of many people with

the bad effects of mass education in the large public high school.

Although public and independent schools exist in this country, there is an increasing recognition of their common social purpose in providing for the education of youth. Many of the old antagonisms that grew out of the battle between public and private education in the nineteenth century are disappearing, and a spirit of cooperation is developing in all parts of the country. This tendency is promoted by cooperative organizations made up of both public and independent schools existing in the several regions of the United States and known generally as associations of colleges and secondary schools. It has been observed also by those familiar with English secondary education that although a school may not be supported by public funds and may not be under the control of an official or governmental board, it may be rendering an important public service. Moreover, it is recognized that independent schools have greater freedom for experimentation and that there is an advantage in having educational experimentation carried on by nongovernmental agencies. In this way innovations can be tested and improved procedures developed without subjecting large numbers of young people in large schools to experimental conditions, some of which may prove to be uneconomical or even educationally undesirable. Whatever may appear to be the dominant attitude with respect to the importance of free public secondary education, there is and always has been a strong sentiment in favor of nonpublic education for those who prefer it for their children and for those who favor experimental practices in education.

THE SECONDARY SCHOOL—ITS RELATION TO
OTHER SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

The School in a Changing Social Order. It is a traditional function of the secondary school to serve the existing social order and to perpetuate its ideals. For this reason the secondary school has throughout the period of history served as an agency for the selection and preparation of leaders for the society which supports it. Whenever a people has made significant changes in its governmental practices and has set up a new regime, the usual practice has been to reform secondary education and place the burden of developing leadership for the new regime upon the secondary school. Excellent examples of this practice may be noted in the recent reforms in Italy under the Fascist regime and in Russia under the Communistic order. In our own history, the public high school has been developed with a similar function to perform. In the past, because of the autocratic character of most governments, particularly of Western Europe and of the Orient, the function of the secondary school has been the selection and preparation of leaders drawn from small but powerful groups that control the destinies of the nations concerned. A prominent example of a selective secondary school is the "public school" of England. For more than five centuries this school has been the agency for the selection and preparation of leaders in the nation as it spread from the British Isles to an empire, a commonwealth of nations, on which the sun never sets. In a similar manner, the Napoleonic regime established a system of secondary education for the education of an élite who would occupy the positions of leadership in intellectual, civic,

and social affairs. Perhaps no country has perfected a finer selective instrument for the purpose of providing leaders for the nation than has France. Most of the nations of the world, particularly those controlled by small privileged classes, have striven constantly to maintain the existing social order and, to a great extent, to maintain national ideals and a culture that represents permanent standards or patterns.

The concept of a changing social order has been generally unacceptable to those who have held autocratic power. This is true perhaps to a less degree in England than in any of the other great national groups, because there the theory of institutional growth to meet changing conditions has been accepted for centuries. As a consequence, the English secondary school, although adhering to certain general principles, has been constantly changing to meet the changing social and economic conditions due to internal developments and the expansion of the empire. If we consider the situation in a democratic society, such as has developed in America with more or less success, we recognize the traditional function of the secondary school as the instrument for perpetuating the existing regime. We must, however, recognize the difference between a democracy and an autocracy. Whereas an autocratic regime strives to maintain its present status, a democracy is forced by its very nature to strive for the improvement of the lot of the common man through constant change. A democracy can perhaps justify its existence as a social ideal largely on the ground that it does provide for continuous human improvement. It is important also that by the very nature of democracy, in which each individual is expected

to contribute to the general social welfare according to his special abilities, leadership cannot be limited to a small select group; it must be representative of the entire social group. In a democracy there is no such thing as a ruling class, although it may be necessary that a small part of the population be selected for political leadership or for public service. This group is not essentially a ruling group in any respect so long as political chicanery is controlled. We think of this group generally as a civil administrative group responsible to the control of the society which it serves. If leadership in a democracy is distributed throughout the group, education for leadership must be likewise distributed. A true democracy, in theory at least, expects each of its members to perform at some time and in some way the functions of a leader. It expects also that each member at all times be intelligent in cooperative action in other matters in which he may not perform leadership functions. It seems clear, therefore, that the secondary school in a democratic society cannot be selective in the old autocratic sense. It cannot recognize a ruling class or a group that will perform all the functions of leadership. It must recognize a new type of selective process, in which each member of the social group is selected and directed in his development according to his special abilities and interests.

Trends in American Education. This theory, even though it may not have been in the consciousness of the American people, has been at work for the past two hundred years. It had its first expression in the antagonism to the Latin grammar school in the early eighteenth century and was expressed openly in the establishment of the academy and

again in the establishment of the public high school. This concept has grown in the practice of the American people slowly but surely, as one might easily observe in noting the trends in secondary education. One might conclude, therefore, that the logical outcome of secondary education in America will be the provision of education of some kind for all the youth of America. If this education is to accomplish the purposes implied in this discussion, it must be adapted to the varying abilities and interests of all the youth as they adjust themselves to the demands of the changing social order. This means that the secondary school and other educational agencies necessary for the provision of an effective program of secondary education must develop a cooperative relationship with all the institutions and agencies of society as a means of accomplishing these purposes.

It is generally recognized, as has been pointed out elsewhere, that society established the school to perform those educational functions which were not being performed effectively by the existing social agencies. As society became more complex and more highly institutionalized, the functions of the school became more clearly defined and separated from the functions of other social institutions. In this way the school has assumed more and more responsibility for the performance of activities having educational significance. As the school took over the responsibility for such aspects of education as preparation for citizenship, vocations, and home membership, the social agencies that had previously performed these functions naturally ceased their participation in them to any important degree. With the constantly extending period of infancy from childhood to adulthood, the school has progressively

assumed a greater responsibility for the general development of large numbers in the population. This is illustrated in the gradual extension of the compulsory-school-attendance age to sixteen, and in some instances to the age of eighteen. Many social and economic factors have been involved in this change as it has taken place in America. It is becoming increasingly evident to educational leaders that the tendency for society to shift the responsibility for secondary education to the school is both overburdening a special institution and at the same time tending to weaken the fundamental character of other social institutions in their ability to serve the social group.

Inadequacy of Secondary-school Programs. The present trends in industry and in many other occupational fields reveal that the opportunities for gainful employment for youth are rapidly decreasing. A practical problem faces American society, which involves general social and economic as well as educational considerations. This problem is not to be solved by providing for increased school attendance. The traditional method of absorbing children and youth released from labor will no longer serve in solving the problems of modern youth. A progressively constructive program must be formulated which will provide for the cooperative activity of the school and other agencies of society in the successful induction into, and adjustment of, the individual to the activities and responsibilities of life. The present programs of secondary education are psychologically unsuited to a great majority of American youth. Moreover, these programs in general are not in harmony with current social and economic conditions. They may have some value as

preparatory programs for further education, but as effective means in the induction and adjustment of youth to community life they fall far short of meeting the present needs.

Need for a Community Educational Program. One of the major difficulties lies in the fact that abstract formal education of any type has little or no value, beyond a certain minimum level, for large numbers of American youth. What is needed in addition to the formal program, is a broad program of opportunities for experience in the normal life activities of the community. Programs of "work" and community service, particularly for the older youth, appear to be absolutely necessary if the present trends in unemployment continue. Such a program obviously cannot be carried on by the secondary school alone with the necessary degree of effectiveness. The full cooperation of all important institutions and agencies of society is necessary, and a new function must be performed by the school. In general, this function is the coordination of the educational activities of community agencies. The school is the logical social institution to perform this function, since it will require a high degree of professional insight and skill in the organization, management, and supervision of the educational activities. No other institution has had experience in the performance of these activities. It should be the responsibility of the school to discover the needs of the youth of the community, to inventory and study the available educational opportunities, and in light of the community demands and ideals to take the lead in the development of the community educational program. This is not an insoluble problem in most American communities; in fact, the

school has already established in many communities cooperative relations with various institutions and agencies. Among those with which the school has, at the present, satisfactory relations are the library, the museum, and similar cultural institutions; social-welfare, industrial, and commercial institutions; local promotion organizations; religious agencies; governmental and civic institutions; parks and playgrounds. All these community resources are essential to any cooperative community educational program, and they will provide, if properly co-ordinated, the only sound basis for the education of all the youth of the community.

THE COORDINATING FUNCTION OF THE MODERN SECONDARY SCHOOL

As has been pointed out above, the coordinating function of the modern school is essential in the program of secondary education in a democracy. It is inevitable that all social institutions shall become more intimately related as the institutions of modern society become more interdependent. The existence of any social agency depends to a large extent upon the integrity of the social order. No single institution can hope to dominate other institutions, as did the church during the Middle Ages. It is wisdom on the part of essential social institutions to support each other, and this is particularly vital in a changing social order which is subject constantly to the pressure of powerful groups. In the present state of social and economic development it is quite apparent that cooperation and not competition is the way to social progress. Moreover, in American society, which is highly dynamic and which has for centuries emphasized a philosophy of

rugged individualism, it is particularly difficult to substitute without conscious effort the principle of cooperation for the established principle of competition. A new generation must grow up before a co-operative society in a real sense can take the place of the old competitive society. If this be true, the accomplishment will depend in large measure upon the education of youth. If the youth of today are to be educated into a cooperative society, it is essential that the program of education itself be cooperative. Cooperation cannot be developed in an autocratic educational system of which most schools are a part by tradition. The school will find it necessary to recognize the place of the community and all its agencies in the program of secondary education.

CONCLUSIONS

The secondary school in primitive society is a co-operative enterprise in which community leaders are responsible for the preparation, selection, and induction of youth into society. It is among the oldest forms of educational institution and has developed throughout the period of history as an essential social institution. With the beginning of the historic period in civilization, of both Western Europe and the Orient, the secondary school has been the instrument of the existing regime for its own perpetuation. Since all important peoples have been controlled by small autocratic groups, this school, up to modern times, has been the institution for the education of youth drawn from privileged social groups. With the rise of modern democracy this function of the secondary school has been recognized in the education of an increasing proportion of youth for participation as leaders in a demo-

cratic society. The nature of leadership in a democracy demands that leaders be educated for all phases of social life. The nature of the education required for such widespread leadership renders the formal secondary school unsuited as an agency for providing a complete educational program. This condition gives rise to a new function for the American secondary school which involves the coordination of the educational activities of all social institutions. If this new function is to be performed effectively, the secondary school must develop more intimate relations with all community agencies and assume the responsibility for constructive leadership in developing an educational program for all the youth.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Read an account of the provisions for the education of youth among primitive peoples and prepare a descriptive sketch of the agencies set up for this purpose.
2. How do you account for the tendency on the part of the secondary school to separate itself from the community in which it is located?
3. Read an account of the English "public school" and compare it with the American public school. How do they differ?
4. What is meant by the expression, "the school is an idealized community"?
5. What is the primary function of the school as a social institution?
6. It is frequently stated that when America faces important social and economic problems the school is expected to solve them. Criticize this policy.
7. What is a comprehensive secondary school? What are its advantages and disadvantages?
8. What is meant by "the school as a center of community life"?
9. Should the education of all youth be provided in the secondary school?

10. What is meant by the coordinating function of the school in providing a community educational program?
11. Should the secondary school attempt to change the social order?
12. To what extent is it possible for social institutions other than schools to participate in the education of youth?

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CHAPTER IX

COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

In the last chapter consideration was given to the secondary school as a social institution, the peculiar functions of this institution, and the way in which these functions have been developed and expanded. It is obvious that education is essential, not only to the preservation and stabilization of human society, but to some extent, either directly or indirectly, to social progress. It is imperative that those who are to devote their lives to educational activities shall be aware of the function and services of other institutions. With the growing complexity of modern society and the development of the coordinating function on the part of the secondary school, it is necessary that the relationships between other social institutions and the school shall be clearly recognized. This is especially important if noneducational institutions are to cooperate with the school in providing for the education of youth, particularly those youth who lack intellectual interests and abilities.

NATURE OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR PECULIAR FUNCTIONS

Types of Institutions. In man's efforts to survive in a natural environment consisting of all manner of animate and inanimate forces, many of which have always been unfriendly, he found it necessary to live in cooperative societies. These societies were

at first small and homogeneous and based upon a common blood relationship. Through many thousands of years in which these small groups fused into larger and larger ones, there developed a few large culture groups that have maintained their identity in competition with each other. In any of these societies similar fundamental institutions are generally to be found. The more important of these institutions are the home, the local community, the school, the religious organization, the occupational group, the cultural institutions, the agencies for public service, and the agencies for group control. In a primitive society these institutions were simple in their organization and function, but as society expanded, and the variety of institutions of these several types increased, there developed many overlappings and complexities which frequently interfered with the general welfare of the individual.

The Individual and the Institution. Institutions, like individuals, strive to perpetuate themselves, and one of the most difficult problems of human society is the provision for institutional progress by a better and more suitable adjustment of the character and function of institutions to the needs of its members and of the society served. There has been a constant conflict between the individual and his social groups because the individual is the progressive element in human society, and the institution is the conservative element in that same society. It must be recognized that through institutions the human race has provided a means for the conservation of the best of human experience, and these institutions have provided a stabilizing influence to counteract the more volatile and unstable influence of the individual. The race has striven more or less

unconsciously to find a proper balance between individual variation and social or institutional standardization. It is generally conceded that this balance can be maintained only through a consistent policy of recognition of individual needs for the complete development of a social personality.

The home. The home, as the basic social institution, has no satisfactory substitute. It is the one institution in society which provides for the first adjustment of the individual to his environment. It provides the necessities of life for development during the early growth stages and protection for the individual in his helplessness against the unfriendly factors of his environment. It has, in addition, an educative function to perform in providing for the mastery of the fundamentals of the language of the group and for the development of social attitudes and behavior as a foundation for the individual's contacts with the larger community group. Opportunities for the development of practical abilities and for an introduction to the cultural and religious traditions of family and group, as well as for the development of other general social and civic relationships, are provided through the family. Since the family has always been the unit for the propagation and the preservation of the race and its social and cultural achievements it is necessary that those responsible for the development of the educational policies and program shall recognize its significance.

The local community. In simple societies, each family has generally been closely associated with other near-by families for purposes of protection and the development of social relations. This community group has been essential to the preservation

of the human race in its earlier stages. In an agrarian civilization, such as existed in America until the middle of the nineteenth century or later, there was less tendency to maintain a closely knit community life, and families lived in sparsely populated areas with danger to their individual welfare and to the welfare of the somewhat scattered neighboring population. The result has been a disintegration in social and political institutions and the weakening of the powers of cooperative action. The boasted independence of the American farmer who neglected so long the development of means of cooperation has been a basic cause for the perilous position in which he has been placed in recent years.

In the last half century, there has been a steady trend toward a larger community organization in this country. The reasons for this tendency have been largely economic, but there are also social and cultural forces at work. Families, as well as individuals, left the open farm lands to live in urban areas to find an opportunity for earning a better living. The cities of America have generally grown up around industrial activity, because this industrial activity has provided better wages and in general steadier employment. Closely associated with the industrial opportunities of the larger community are more comfortable homes, freedom from the drudgery of life, better schools, more varied social groups, cultural and recreational opportunities such as music, the theater, the library, the museum, and facilities for physical recreation and enjoyment. The trend toward the city in America began at a time when the simple country life on the farm or in the small village lacked contact with other communities and with those experiences that are desired by the normal

healthy human being. With the invention of the telephone and the automobile, the congested city community began to disintegrate, and what are now known as suburban communities have grown up. This tendency to return to the open country has been greatly stimulated by other modern inventions, by the increasing difficulty and dissatisfaction of living in congested communities, and by the recent difficulty of securing employment in industry and related occupations. It is apparent, therefore, that the American community exists for the purpose of providing facilities for the development of those human interests and relationships represented by the important social institutions which man has created.

The term community may signify a simple group more or less homogeneous in character on the one hand, or a large metropolitan group composed of many smaller and simpler groups, or a group of any size and complexity between these two extremes. For example, a small crossroads aggregation of families might constitute a community, provided they are bound together by some common tie or interest or purpose. For similar reasons a city of one hundred thousand, or a metropolitan community of ten millions, or a region such as New England, or the entire United States, might be defined as a community. From another point of view, the individual may be considered to be a member of communities which are essentially institutions existing for the performance of special functions. One might be, for example, a member of a particular church community, of a particular vocational group or community, and of a particular social group or community. It is quite clear, therefore, that the modern community life and institutions in which the human being must function

are extremely complex and interrelated. It is highly desirable that each individual shall be able to develop those community relationships, whether geographical or functional, that will make it possible for him to be happy as an individual and as a co-operating member of his groups.

Our discussion, to this point, has dealt with the fundamental social institutions, the family and the community. These institutions are general in their function. It has been pointed out that the family makes possible the growth of the individual to adulthood. In like manner, the community of families makes possible the proper functioning of the individual when he assumes his responsibilities in social life. It remains for us to consider certain other specialized institutions which the family and the community recognize as performing certain special functions as a service to the human being.

The school and the church. The peculiar nature and functions of the school, as well as its close relationship to other essential human institutions, have been described. Among the institutions that exist for other special purposes, the church or other religious institution has been of great importance to mankind. This institution was for a long time practically co-ordinate with, if not superior to, the institutions for group control. As tribal groups increased in size and developed larger political organizations, as barriers against the alien were eliminated, and as freedom of religious thought increased, the complete union of the religious and political authority became impossible. With the fading of the temporal power of the church, and the increased emphasis upon the church as the spiritual authority, the control exerted by the church as an institution changed perceptibly from

that of external compulsion to one dependent largely upon the power of the spirit to motivate man in his behavior. This change in attitude toward religious institutions has been one of the most significant facts in man's progress toward the ideal of right living.

The occupational group. The development of occupations has increased with the growing complexity of community life. In the simple community, the occupations were few and were mostly concerned with extracting a livelihood from the earth, either directly or indirectly. The occupations of fishing and hunting were characteristic of the nomad, of man in his roving and unsettled stage. Agriculture and herding were two of the earliest occupations of mankind in an established community life. As the human needs increased, and man's inventive genius led to manufacturing of products from the raw materials which nature provided, the first stage in the development of a complex society was attained. The great metropolitan communities, so common in the modern world, would have been impossible without many occupations based upon the manufacture of products. In the early stages of manufacturing, the large industrial community, such as we have today, did not often develop because of the absence of organized industry; and for centuries articles were manufactured by hand in the home. With the development of the machine it became possible to employ many individuals in concentrated quarters known as factories. This concentration of labor required also the development of other types of services which earlier communities did not provide. Among these were such services as water supply, sewage disposal, artificial light, improved means of transportation and communication, and most of all

better means of distribution through sales organizations that extended beyond the bounds of the local community. It is quite clear that the present complex industrial and commercial communities in America would have been impossible one hundred years ago. In the process of concentrating large numbers of workmen in a single plant, it became possible to differentiate the work of individuals. It is no longer necessary for each individual to make the entire article, whether it be shoe or wagon or piece of furniture. Thus manufacturing has become, to a very large degree, a cooperative enterprise. It should be noted also that it was this concentration of industrial activity that has led to the accumulation of large amounts of capital in order that special cooperative enterprises might be financed. While these separate enterprises have been developing, there have developed also great varieties of dependent enterprises; for example, in the automobile industry no single manufacturer builds the complete automobile. This specialization has made industries dependent upon each other to such an extent that any condition affecting one of the related industries tends immediately to affect the others.

Vocational education, or the preparation for occupations, is not the simple process common among primitive peoples. It is a highly complex and unstable procedure and is made increasingly uncertain by the rapidity with which inventions tend to out-mode manufacturing methods and techniques. Within a generation, important occupations with centuries of tradition have been supplanted by new ones. For example, wagon making, breeding of horses, the work of the blacksmith, and other related occupations have been supplanted by the auto-

mobile industry. The manufacture of the phonograph has been supplanted to a great extent by the manufacture of the radio. The occupation of telephone operator has declined in importance because of the mechanical switchboard in the telephone exchange. The railroad engineer, the electric trolleycar motorman and conductor, and workmen in related occupations are likely to be supplanted by bus drivers and airplane pilots. Because of such a shifting occupational situation, the old apprenticeship system, which had become an institution of great importance in society, rapidly disappeared and passed over to the school the educational function which trades and other occupations formerly carried on.

The cultural institutions. In the case of cultural institutions there has been a constantly increasing development in all the important fields of human experience. Cultural institutions serve primarily as the conservators of human experience, but in recent years they have been rapidly assuming a responsibility for disseminating this experience in ways that are closely allied to education. The more important of cultural institutions in the modern community are the library, the museum, the theater, the press, and to an increasing degree the radio broadcast. These institutions have an exceptional opportunity to contribute to the general welfare and happiness of the individual. They represent those sources of human experience upon which the individual may draw for the solutions of life problems and the interpretation of these solutions.

Public-service agencies. From the beginning of community life there have always been certain essential public services. Typical public servants in early American communities were the miller, the ferryman,

the blacksmith, and the post rider. As community life developed it became necessary to regulate these services and provide others necessary for a more complex community life. Among more recently developed public services, are the community water supply, sewage disposal, artificial lighting, central heat, and a wide range of transportation and communication services. These have become highly institutionalized, and require strict governmental regulation in order that those who operate them as monopolies may not profit too greatly from the services rendered, because of the dependence of the public upon them. An institution which has increased in importance with the growth of modern communities is that which provides for governmental control. It consists of the entire political organization of the community, whether it be the local community, the state, or the nation. The demands for governmental service have increased at an enormous rate within the past half century, and the increased cost of this service as compared with other services is due partly to the growth in size of communities and partly to the effort on the part of society to equalize privileges and opportunities by affording free service or low rates at public expense. It has not always resulted in equalization, because of the tendency for some individuals to secure, in any possible way, special privileges and favors from those in authority. An important reason, perhaps, for the increased cost of government service is the dependence upon unintelligent and unskilled political appointees for the performance of technical services. In those countries in which an educated public service is provided, there is a great increase in the efficiency and quality of service rendered. This is perhaps a field

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in which America has failed to provide occupational opportunities for intelligent and properly educated young men and young women.

EDUCATIONAL FUNCTIONS OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Educational Service of the Home. From the preceding discussion, it is obvious that the basic institutions in a civilized community have definite functions for which they are primarily responsible, and in addition they may be of such character as to render a special service in the education of the youth of the community. The home is the one institution other than the school that has definite responsibilities for the performance of educational service. Leaders in education have in recent years begun to question the ability of the home to perform its educational function. The changes in educational theory and practice since many parents attended school make it difficult for them to cooperate with the school in any effective way. In many instances the parents' efforts at cooperation tend to thwart the efforts of the school to carry out a sound program of education for the child. In some instances the school has attempted to solve the problem by developing special classes for parents, or organizations such as the parent-teachers' association, at which the parents are informed regarding the desirable educational practices with which the school is concerned. In other instances, communities have established clinics, such as the child-guidance clinic, which is essentially an agency for the education of parents while working with them in the solution of their children's problems. It is obvious that so long as the parent is an adherent of the old type of education and believes in strict discipline, having no patience

with the modern "fads and frills," there will be great difficulty in developing a proper cooperation on the part of the parent in the education of the child.

The prospects are more hopeful in the case of the younger parents who have had contact with the school more recently and who believe in the present emphasis upon guidance and student activities and other recent developments in education. The prospects would be even more hopeful if the cooperative program of education for the youth of the community might include some assistance in homemaking at the time the new home is being established and when the greatest need is felt for guidance on the part of the new homemakers in the establishment and conduct of the home. Guidance might be provided for young parents in the care of their children through infancy and childhood, and in such manner a sounder educational program could be developed in the home than is possible under present conditions. Whether the home is participating consciously in the education of the youth is scarcely open to discussion, since, regardless of the ability of the home to participate directly, a great part of the education of young people takes place in the informal activity of home and community. It would help immeasurably if there could be developed a better relationship between home and school through the services of trained home and school visitors or other coordinating personnel. If the home assumed a favorable attitude, even though it might not render active assistance it would help the school in solving many of its difficult problems as they relate to young people and their life problems.

Educational Service of the Community. The opportunities for extending the program of education

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for the older youth, will depend to a very large extent upon the cooperation of the entire community. Many American communities present an undesirable and unhealthy educational environment. They do little to stimulate good behavior and high ideals on the part of the youth, and little attention is given—and that in a limited way by certain welfare agencies—to the proper care and direction of the interests and activities of their young people. Every American community should have a program of education for its youth that would develop in them ideals and practices in community service for the improvement of both the individual and the community. Reference has been made to "work" and community-service programs for unemployed youth; but on the whole the possibilities of utilizing unemployed young people in a variety of community services during periods of depression, and at the same time providing a kind of education that would be most useful, have not been recognized. The impossibility of meeting the need for further education in the formal school should be recognized, and a community cooperative program should be developed that would care for every individual until he is ready to assume his responsibility as a citizen and wage earner in the community.

Educational Service of the Church. Much discussion has taken place in the last twenty years relative to the general moral depravity of youth, a condition generally attributed to the failure of the church and other religious organizations to maintain their hold upon young people. Writers and speakers in this field have emphasized the dangers in the disintegration of the old religious controls and have too often failed to see the better side of the picture.

What has happened is that young people are not willing to be indoctrinated under pressure into the acceptance of religious dogma and have been outspoken in their objections to traditional religious education. They have been searching for a more acceptable religion than that which their parents and elders so frequently practice. The time is ripe for a wholesome program of education in which considerations of religion and morals might be an essential part. It is quite clear, in view of the present attitude of youth, that teaching religion as a separate discipline for young people is psychologically unsound and socially and morally dangerous. It would seem desirable, therefore, that the church and other religious institutions recognize their place in a cooperative program of education. Participation in such a program should be independent of the particular creed represented by any church or affiliated religious organization. Their interests should be in the welfare of young people as members of the community, as citizens and leaders in the community. Their primary concern should not be that their names be added to the membership rolls of any particular denomination. If religion has a place in the education of youth, it must have that place as a contributor to an integrated educational program which is possible only through the intelligent cooperation of all the agencies concerned, and chief among these is the learner himself.

Educational Service of Occupational Groups. In spite of the fact that within the past half century, occupations have declined in their power to educate their members, there is a growing need for the participation of occupational groups in the education of youth. Neither the old apprenticeship system of

education nor the formal school program of vocational education can solve the problem of preparing and inducting young people into life careers. It is highly important that the occupational groups shall cooperate to the fullest extent with the other community agencies and with the professional guidance of the school in providing opportunities for the education of youth. Education for vocation should not be independent of the other aspects of education, for it should be recognized that one should be an efficient member of a vocational group and, at the same time, an efficient and participating member of the home and the community. Man's chief purpose in life should not be merely earning a living, but also living a useful and happy life in his community. Occupational leaders can do much to correct the errors that have been made and perpetuated in the name of vocational education in this country.

Educational Service of Cultural Institutions. It has been shown that cultural institutions provide unusual facilities for the education of youth in a community. These institutions are rapidly recognizing their responsibility for the dissemination of culture as well as for the preservation of culture, and any program of education for the youth of a community will not have real significance without the full participation of all the cultural institutions and agencies that are available. Through such cooperation of these agencies with the secondary school, youth will be made acquainted with community agencies whose resources they shall want to use throughout their lives.

The Offerings of Public-service Institutions. Public-service institutions have an excellent opportunity to impart to their community their ideals and their

contributions to community welfare, through a co-operative program of education. The constant criticism to which public-service agencies have been subjected in America is evidence, to some extent, of the misunderstandings that have been allowed to develop regarding those agencies. Much of this criticism is justified because of the unethical practices of which many of them have been guilty. At the same time, many criticisms that have been aimed at public-service agencies are undeserved and have caused great embarrassment to these agencies in the extension of their services to their communities. The attitude of legislatures and local governments is often unfriendly and leads to inefficient service to the community. What is needed is a sound program of education which will develop citizens who are honestly critical but fair minded in their judgments. If young people were brought in close contact with public-service agencies and were given an opportunity to know the truth as to their efficiency in performing their functions in the community, much would be done to improve the quality of the service which they render and to improve the public appreciation for their contribution to the general welfare.

Educational Service of Government Agencies. It is a fundamental principle in a democratic society that every citizen shall be intelligent and thoroughly conversant with his government and its function. If each citizen is to perform his responsibilities as a member of a democracy, he should have a clear understanding of those agencies that govern his community. In addition to his understanding of the nature and functions of his government, he should have a desire to participate as fully as possible in

all the essential activities of group control. The great danger in a democracy is that those activities which the citizen shall perform will be usurped by paid politicians. A desire to participate in citizenship activities cannot be learned in formal courses in history, civics, and social problems alone. It is absolutely essential that a program of education for citizenship shall provide opportunity for frequent participation in group activities. This can be initiated in the daily life of the youth while in school and can gradually be extended to participation in similar activities in the community. The programs referred to as "work" and community-service programs provide invaluable means for the development of interest in community affairs. If the youth of a community are engaged in the clearance and beautification of slum areas, the improvement of parks and playgrounds, or any other similar community services, an interest will have been initiated which can easily develop into leadership in the life of the community when full responsibility as a citizen has been assumed. Community projects in various parts of the country, having to do with the provision of playgrounds and other leisure-time activities for young people, have demonstrated that in those instances in which young people were given the responsibility of developing their own recreational facilities, they have had a greater appreciation of these facilities and made greater use of them than in those cases in which they were provided by other means.

Summary of Institutional Functions. In general, it may be said that every social institution, regardless of its primary function in the community, has a responsibility for the education of the youth of the community which it should not fail to recognize. It

ought to participate in such an educational program as a means of developing among the citizens a better understanding and more favorable community attitudes toward its service. Furthermore, participation in a program of education on the part of social institutions is the best guarantee of friendliness and understanding on the part of the rising generation.

COMMUNITY RESOURCES AND THEIR UTILIZATION FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES

Natural Resources. In addition to the contribution of the social institutions discussed in the preceding section, there are also certain general ways in which community resources that are not involved in the institutional life of the community may contribute to education. Some of these are due to natural environment, and some to the heritage of the particular community. Historic connections should play an important part in the educational program of a community, although these may not be the contribution of any particular institution. If one considers the possibilities of utilizing natural features as educational resources, the opportunities for nature study and outdoor-life activity which are provided in abundance in certain communities should be capitalized. Some communities are peculiarly favored for the study of botany and for the study of earth formations in geography and general science. Some communities provide unusual opportunity for the development of outdoor-life activities, such as hiking, horseback riding, outdoor sports, and other similar diversions. Other communities provide unusual opportunity for the development of garden clubs and cooperative programs of agriculture and other such specialized activities. Some communities

have special advantages for the development of water sports and similar activities, because of nearness to bodies of water. It is difficult to understand why these opportunities are so frequently overlooked and why the program of secondary education is restricted to narrow, formal academic programs.

Historic Resources. By way of illustrating the possibilities in communities for the development of interest in history and traditions, the cities of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston are perhaps outstanding examples. The schools of a historic city and vicinity should capitalize on this unusual opportunity for the development of appreciation of a cultural and historic background. It is common practice in English schools to utilize historic and literary environments in the development of their educational programs. As a result, the secondary schools in many English communities have developed unique educational programs for young people. Education related to community life in this fashion becomes life itself and has a greater significance for the youth who are being educated.

Procedure for a Program of Utilizing Resources. It seems appropriate at this point to suggest a procedure for the utilization of community resources for a program of education for all the youth. Such a program would need to be considered from the point of view of general administration, content, personnel, facilities, and evaluation. An attempt will be made to outline briefly a plan under these headings.

The administration. The administration of such a program should be cooperative, with the school serving as the coordinating agent for its general organization, management, and supervision. As a temporary arrangement, until such a program is put on a

permanent basis, a community council consisting of the board of education and representatives of co-operating institutions should work together in determining the policies under which the program should be developed. Leadership in the conduct of the program should be in the hands of the chief school official, the superintendent of schools, with the head of the secondary school as chief assistant. In small communities where one high school serves the community, the entire responsibility for the administration of the program might be assumed by the head of the secondary school. Members of the secondary-school staff should serve as expert investigators in helping to determine the general plan of the educational program and the methods to be employed. New types of personnel for the conduct of community activities should be secured wherever available and attached to the staff of the institution contributing to the educational service. The activities, however, should be understood and coordinated by the administrator in charge of the entire program.

The content. The program of education under this plan should consist of at least three types or phases.

1. A full formal program of secondary education should be provided for those who will profit by such a program. The students should, in addition, be introduced to the community agencies contributing to the program and be given some understanding of the place of these agencies in the community.

2. A second group of students would include those who need further part-time formal education but who, because of lack of mental ability or lack of interest in purely formal schoolwork, should have a program consisting of a combination of formal work and informal community activities planned with

definite objectives and suited to the abilities and interests of each individual. This might include existing cooperative educational programs and any types of cooperative programs having to do with education for citizenship and leisure time. These two groups would include most of the types of young people who are placed at the present time in the secondary schools as they now exist.

3. There is great need for a program of education for approximately thirty per cent of American youth who are incapable of learning in the conventional secondary school. These young people are of wide ranges of ability but are mostly in the lower mental levels. They require individual treatment and would probably profit little by further attendance in schools as they are now organized. They need to be studied with respect to their background, abilities, interests, and probable future careers. They belong to a group of young people who are, in many instances, socially unadjusted and who need special advice and counsel in meeting difficult life situations. For some of these, the C. C. C. Camp has been providing an exceptional educational opportunity. For most of them, in order that they may have the simple necessities of living, there is need for a noncompetitive wage arrangement in order that they may be free to pursue a program of education through "work" projects and other community-service activities.

The personnel. The proper handling of such a program by a community would require special types of personnel drawn from other professions or persons specially qualified to direct new types of educational activity. There is a special need in this connection for directors of music for community orches-

tras, bands, glee clubs, and other types of musical work and for directors of little theaters who are not only good performers but have developed abilities in stagecraft and stage direction. One might enumerate a score of specialized types of personnel needed in communities, large and small, if the most effective community educational program is to be developed, and some of these types of personnel will be developed by the program itself. Such a program will reproduce in a modern way the best features of the educational program of primitive society; but because of the dynamic and complex nature of modern society, it will be necessary to provide a professionally educated leadership capable of developing new procedures as conditions demand them. The merit of this program lies in the fact that it is education through life itself and recognizes the fundamental principle of learning through the activity of the learner.

The facilities. A problem in the development of such a program of education is the provision of adequate facilities for the conduct of the program. Many of the activities that have been mentioned will be conducted in the natural setting of the "work" and community-service programs. Programs of citizenship and leisure-time activities will require facilities for committee work and for other group activities. A community headquarters in the secondary-school plant or in a central community building will be needed for the conduct of these activities. Work in music and other leisure-time activities will require facilities suited to the purpose. There are many private community buildings, such as auditoriums and other convenient facilities, that might be utilized for this purpose. Many clubhouses and properties of

churches and other organizations are used to a very limited extent and might well be contributed for the purpose of a community educational program. In the case of health work and outdoor sports, athletic clubs and similar organizations could well cooperate in providing facilities. The numerous country clubs whose houses are little used at the present time might do well to provide for a limited use of them by the community, rather than have them remain idle. Provision might be made for the repair and improvement of some of these as "work" projects in return for the use of the plants. It should be borne in mind, in selecting facilities for such an educational program, that use should be made of those facilities that exist for special purposes, rather than attempt to depend upon the unsatisfactory facilities frequently offered in antiquated school buildings. There is also a psychological advantage in having such education carried on in the natural setting in preference to attempting to have the youth return to the school, where he was probably a failure, to continue his education. Moreover, such cooperative use of community facilities would arouse increased interest in the education of the youth of the community.

Procedures in evaluation. Any attempt at evaluating the results of a program of informal education such as this should avoid conventional methods of appraisal. The results of such education are revealed in behavior in normal life activities. Increased interest and participation in citizenship activities are far better evidence of the success of such education than measured achievement on tests of knowledge of the social studies. A gradual development of the use of the public library; an increase in youth visiting

art and musical centers; a wider use of recreational facilities; and a reduction in juvenile delinquency are the best possible measures of the efficiency of the educational program. The school should coordinate the activities of social agencies concerned with the study of trends in the behavior of the youth of the community. Through such methods of appraisal undesirable tendencies would be revealed and a direct attack could be made upon them by means of special features in the educational program. In this manner a flexible educational program adapted to the needs of the youth of the community would be attainable.

CONCLUSIONS

In the development of secondary education, the tendency has been to separate the school from other social institutions and thereby render difficult the development of the proper relation between education and life itself. This practice is contrary to man's earliest experience in the preparation and induction of youth into the primitive group. This condition has been an outgrowth, to a large extent, of the narrowing of the conception of the function of the secondary school. With the return of a democratic society to the primitive concept of community education, the place of other social institutions in the educational program assumes a large significance. It is not only understood that social institutions shall perform their peculiar functions for which they were established, but it is also recognized that a proper understanding of their function in society cannot be obtained without a closer contact with them. It would be a definite advantage to the institution itself if it came in contact with youth and had the op-

It has been pointed out that the home and the community represent society's primary units for the control of the individual and the service institutions which society has set up. Within these basic institutions, other social institutions play an important special role. Among these are the school, religious institutions, occupations, cultural institutions, public-service institutions, and institutions for group control.

The possibilities of these social institutions performing special educational services are beyond question. A fine service to society could be rendered if these institutions participated in a cooperative educational program. In addition to the contribution to be made by formal institutions, there are in every community peculiar situations or conditions that contribute to the education of the youth. These conditions are the result of natural environment and of traditions related to the growth of the community. Every community should capitalize for the education of youth the possibilities which it affords through its institutional life and through the natural resources in its environment.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is an institution?
2. Why have social institutions been established?
3. What is the relation of social institutions to individuals?
4. What is the relation of social institutions to each other and to society as a whole?
5. What institutions are essential to human welfare?
6. How do social institutions perpetuate themselves? Why are social institutions interested in education?
7. Make a list of institutions in a typical community

and indicate the specific ways in which they may contribute to the education of youth.

8. What is the relation of governmental (political) institutions to education?
9. Outline a plan by which the school and other community institutions may cooperate in providing for the education and welfare of youth.

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CHAPTER X

ADMINISTRATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

The administration of secondary education is concerned with the effective organization, management, and professional evaluation and improvement of the provisions and procedures for the education of youth. All administrative activities are limited by the policies which have been adopted by the people through such policy-determining agencies as the legislature and boards of education. Administration requires professional and technical knowledge and skill and is therefore the responsibility of the expert. In this chapter consideration will be given to the governmental units' responsibilities for secondary education, control and support, administration of the secondary school, articulation of the units for secondary education, evaluation of secondary education, and the constant tendencies toward reorganization. It is a matter of considerable importance that all the members of the professional staff of a secondary school have at least a general acquaintance with and an appreciation of the task involved in providing secondary education for all the youth of America.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR SECONDARY EDUCATION

From the beginning of education in America in early colonial days the responsibility for the provision of education has been assumed by the state. Previous to the establishment of the Federal gov-

ernment, each of the states had made some provision for education in its constitution and state law. When the Constitution of the United States was adopted, the framers refrained entirely from any direct reference to education. Subsequent interpretations of the Federal Constitution declared that all matters not mentioned specifically in the Constitution as a function of the Federal government were a part of the responsibility of the states individually. There has grown up, in this way, a body of legal tradition favoring state sovereignty in matters of education, and as a consequence each state has provided a system of elementary and secondary education. State universities have been established in the old states of the South, in all the new states of the West, and in some of the New England and Middle States. The state is the recognized authority in matters pertaining to public education and has provided machinery for its administration. The only exception to this general policy is in the instances in which the Federal government has granted subsidies for vocational education. Even in that, the state may refuse to accept the Federal subsidy if it does not wish to conform to the policies and the administrative regulations prescribed. There are also certain special cases in which the Federal government controls secondary education in territorial areas or for dependent races. All local and intermediate agencies concerned with the provision of secondary education are the creation of the state and have no powers except those prescribed by the state. The responsibility of the state for secondary education is not limited to the public provisions, in as much as any private or nongovernmental school or other agency is subject

CONTROL AND SUPPORT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

Types of Control Units. The control of secondary education by the state is accomplished by means of legally established units—local, intermediate, and state. Local units exist throughout the United States varying from the small rural district to the township, the city, and the county as a local unit. Each of these types of unit has grown up to meet peculiar needs or conditions; and in some instances, as for example the rural district unit, a particular unit no longer serves the needs satisfactorily. Recent developments in adapting the educational unit are represented by the consolidated-school district, the community-high-school district, and the state as a unit (in North Carolina). The state provides by law for boards of education and administrative staffs for the proper control of secondary education along with its provisions for elementary education. These local agencies are under the general control of the state board of education or other similar authority and the state superintendent of education or commissioner of education, the chief education officer of the state.

State Administrative Agencies. The functions of administrative agencies that have been set up by the several states for the administration of secondary education vary with the states, from a perfunctory gathering of information and the making of reports to an extensive field service by specialists working out of the state office. Most state offices now have a member of the staff whose entire time is devoted to the promotion of secondary education

within the state. These staff officers, through their assistants, are constantly developing contacts with local and intermediate agencies in the development of a state program of secondary education. As a legal requirement in many states, lists of approved or accredited schools are maintained as a basis for the allotment of state funds to local schools. Perhaps the most important need in American secondary education in so far as the state office is concerned is a competent advisory service to individual schools in the development of educational programs for local communities and in the provision of better supervision for these local programs. Although there is still need for inspection, the emphasis is more frequently placed upon professional assistance in the solution of problems in secondary education in the local area.

Local Administrative Agencies. The administration of the program of secondary education in the local district is probably the most important administrative service needed in American secondary education. The agencies for this purpose are provided by law and represent theoretically an extension to the local community of the authority of the state in educational affairs. Legally these local administrators are state officers, and they must meet the standards set up by the state by legal enactment or by the regulations of the state department of education. In small school districts, secondary education is administered by the board of education through a professionally qualified administrator known as superintendent, supervising principal, or principal. In the larger school systems a specialist in the office of the superintendent of schools, designated as assistant or associate superintendent, is charged with the responsibility for the administration of secondary edu-

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tion. These administrative officers have general supervision of the personnel of secondary schools and in turn place the responsibility for general supervision of each school in the hands of a secondary school principal and his staff. In the large cities provision is frequently made for specialist supervision through city-wide supervisors or directors of instruction in the several subject fields. These specialist supervisors occupy positions of leadership and are charged with the responsibility for the general co-ordination and supervision of the work in their special fields in all parts of the secondary-school system.

School Administration. In the large secondary school the principal usually has a staff of assistants to aid him in the administration of the school. The oldest of these assistants is the department head, or first assistant, whose function is largely the administration of the work of the particular department to which he is assigned as a specialist supervisor. His functions include not only supervision but organization and management of the work of the department as well. Within recent years, particularly in large cities, the public high school has grown to such proportions that there has been need for other administrative assistants. Among these types of personnel are the assistant or vice-principal, the dean, the registrar or chief clerk, the director of research and guidance, the director of activities, the department head, and other special administrative assistants where the program of education provided is in need of special direction. One such special administrative assistant is the coordinator whose function is the development and coordination of cooperative programs in commercial and industrial education. Generally, these several administrative assistants

serve as an advisory group or cabinet to the principal and thus provide for more intelligent administration of the educational program in schools that attempt to serve a great variety of educational needs in the large community.

County Administrative Agencies. In those states which have a county unit, the responsibility for administration of secondary education is placed by law upon a county superintendent or a county board of education whose chief administrative officer is the county superintendent of schools. In counties having a large number of secondary schools under the administration of the county superintendent, there is generally an assistant county superintendent in charge of secondary education. In general, the staff provided for the administration of secondary education in the county differs very little from the staff provided for the local district. The chief difference is the larger area to be covered, the smaller school units, and the greater difficulty in keeping in close contact with the schools. There is generally less effective supervision in county systems as far as secondary education is concerned, because of the lack of opportunity for principals of small schools to devote time to this activity. There is also the absence of the specialist supervisor, such as the department head who rarely exists in small secondary schools. The need for supervision in such situations is being met through programs of cooperative supervision, in which groups of schools conveniently located geographically work together on common problems in each of the fields of learning. This type of cooperative activity is of peculiar importance in the development of educational programs in which the work of the specialist is essential. Occasionally, as for ex-

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ample in Maryland, state supervisors are assigned to a group of counties, and they assume practically full responsibility for supervision of the schools in their areas.

Regional Associations. In certain parts of the United States a great deal has been done by regional associations of colleges and secondary schools to influence the administration of secondary education. The associations that have been the most active are the Middle States Association, the North Central Association, the North West Association, and the Southern Association. They have placed the responsibility for the work with secondary schools upon commissions on secondary schools. A typical commission on secondary schools includes representatives for each state having direct contact with the secondary schools. These representatives serve as state committees for the purpose of securing information and establishing lists of accredited secondary schools. These lists are prepared on the basis of standards for secondary schools approved by the association. As standardizing agencies, they have done much in the past quarter of a century to raise the level of secondary education in the regions which they serve. They exert pressure upon local educational agencies, aimed at the improvement of features and practices for which standards have been formulated.

In recent years there has been a feeling developing among these regional agencies that they may prevent the progressive development of secondary education through a too strict interpretation of standards. This feeling is intensified by the fact that the standards in force have grown out of a past educational philosophy and practice which is rapidly

becoming antiquated. There is the opinion also that standardization has been achieved sufficiently to provide a basis for the performance of the more important function of stimulating good schools to further growth. It is recognized that numerous contributions in the field of secondary education have been made by research workers and committees that have failed to affect appreciably the practice in secondary education. These agencies, because of their widespread contact with schools and their influence upon educational practice, are in a strategic position to stimulate improvement along the lines of the better practices revealed in research and other investigations. Such agencies, extending as they do beyond state boundaries, have an opportunity to spread innovations as they are discovered and validated in schools under their immediate jurisdiction. They are generally relatively free from the influences of local and state politics and can render a professional service for which there is no other competent agency available. One of the most important functions of the regional agency is that of the development of closer relations between the secondary school and institutions for higher education. It has been pointed out that this is an important need because of the regional and national character of higher institutions. In a democratic society, where new ways of doing things are discovered through voluntary and non-governmental agencies, the regional association is performing a distinct service for the promotion of secondary education.

Support of Secondary Education. The costs of public secondary education in the United States are distributed among local state and Federal agencies. During normal times, the burden was distributed

as follows: local revenues, approximately three-fourths; state revenues, more than one-fifth; Federal revenues, chiefly as aid for vocational education, about one-twentieth. During the period of the depression various states were forced to assume greater responsibility for public-school support, thereby relieving local units. In North Carolina, the state became the unit for providing support for all forms of public education. The Federal government has made larger and larger contributions to many aspects of education for youth, chiefly through the C. C. C. Camp, community junior college, maintenance grants to students on a noncompetitive work basis, and grants to local school districts for the construction of secondary-school buildings. There are no reliable data showing the extent of the contributions of independent or nongovernmental agencies to the support of independent secondary education. The sources of support are generally from tuition, gifts, and endowments. The main financial support of education for American youth is secured through public tax levied upon real estate. There is great need for revision of the taxing system for education, in order that the less favored communities and the states with limited sources of wealth may be aided in providing for all American youth the educational opportunities essential to becoming responsible and efficient American citizens.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

The administration of the secondary school in any American community is a responsibility that requires special talent and professional preparation. The secondary school is frequently the dominant educational institution in the community, and its

ideals and practices reflect the cultural ideals and practices of its community. Much depends upon the vision and competence of the principal and his staff. The principal of a large secondary school is compelled to delegate many of his functions of organization, management, and supervision to specially qualified assistants. If he is a wise principal, he will retain his function of general supervision at least in part, since he should be the most competent person to judge the general educational efficiency of his school. He will, when possible, delegate specialist supervision to properly qualified department heads or special supervisors, reserving unto himself the function of coordination of such supervision. The secondary-school principal, like his superior, the superintendent of schools, should assume the responsibility for educational leadership in his community. He should also retain responsibility for initiation of new policies calling constantly upon his staff for cooperation in this activity. In recent years there has been an increasing emphasis upon the need for education for leadership in community affairs. Because of the secondary-school principal's position in his community and because of his demonstrated ability as a leader in his school, he has an unusual opportunity to promote the development of leadership among the youth of his school and community. He should recognize this peculiar function as an opportunity for retrieving some of the loss due to his remoteness from the individual pupil because of the size of the school population and the demands upon his time for general administrative activities.

A further consideration in the administration of secondary education in the individual school concerns the functions of those members of the staff to

whom the principal is compelled to delegate many of the administrative activities. These types of personnel generally include in large schools a vice-principal, chief clerk or registrar, deans of boys and girls, director of guidance, department heads, librarian, and in special types of schools a variety of special personnel. They perform activities of organization, management, and supervision in varying degrees. Special mention should be made of the importance of participation of the teacher in secondary-school administration. The secondary school, of all American institutions, should develop a program of cooperative administration in which all members of the school community, including teachers and pupils as well as the administrative personnel, should participate. This participation is desirable chiefly because it is recognized as an educational opportunity on the part of the teacher. It is an essential principle of administration of a democratic school that any administrative activity to be performed should be educational to the person who performs the activity. This principle is fully recognized in present provisions for the participation of students in secondary-school administration and has quite as strong justification when members of the staff of the secondary school are concerned.

ARTICULATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

One of the most important problems confronting American education since its beginnings has been the problem of articulating the various units of the educational system in order that the individual might have a continuous program of educational development.

State and Interstate Barriers. There is no super-

vising agency for the direction of the educational program throughout the United States. Each state has been free to set up such supervisory agencies as it deems desirable. Consequently, various provisions have been made in the several states with little reference to the possible migration of individuals from state to state. Even within the same state the barriers between elementary education and secondary education, and between secondary education and higher education, have tended to emphasize this lack of articulation. To complicate the situation further, there have grown up side by side a public-school system and a variety of types of independent educational agencies. The difficulties confronting the child who desires to progress from level to level in either the public or an independent system require special guidance service in order that waste may not occur through the misdirection of youth in their educational programs.

Types of Articulation. Articulation has two significant aspects that must be considered in connection with American secondary education. One of these is vertical articulation and the other is horizontal articulation. Vertical articulation has to do with the continuity of educational opportunities for the individual. It is concerned with the tying together of elementary, secondary, and higher education and even the proper tie-up with education beyond the formal schooling which the individual receives up to the end of the youth period. Horizontal articulation is concerned with a proper balance of experience needed to give the individual his full development. It is concerned with the development of the interrelation of the great fields of learning which form the basis of the educational program.

It is concerned also with the proper interrelation of experience gained in formal schools and experience gained in less formal schools and in the activities of youth particularly in school. Some would go even beyond this and consider it essential to relate all school experience to the community life of the learner. These two concepts of articulation have been receiving increasing emphasis in experimental schools and in the theoretical discussions of educational leaders, and there is some evidence that conventional schools are giving increasing consideration to the articulation of the educational program at all levels.

Articulation of elementary and secondary education. The extension of the common school upward to include both elementary and secondary education has provided theoretically for the articulation of the entire educational program from the kindergarten or preschool period to the university. Most school systems find extreme difficulty in providing a continuous educational program rising from level to level with appropriate recognition for the difficulty of the activities involved. It has become apparent in very recent years that problems of articulation are as likely to arise within grades as between them. The real solution to the problem is not found in tinkering with the machinery of grade organization, although a better working organization may help. The best solution appears to be through guidance and individualized-instruction procedures based upon a more flexible and varied program of secondary education.

Articulation of secondary and higher education. A problem which is at present causing great concern is the lack of articulation between secondary schools and higher institutions. The problem is most

troublesome in the eastern part of the country, because of the independent character of higher institutions. There is no single agency, such as a state university, to set the standards of university admission in most of the older states of New England and the Middle States. Moreover, certain of the more prominent of the higher institutions have adopted a selective examination procedure which tends to prevent the closer friendly relations that seem desirable. There is great need for some system of comprehensive evaluation and some procedure that will make possible the planning of a continuous program in the higher institution for youth who have the abilities and interests for the development of which further education is necessary.

Need for horizontal articulation. Perhaps the most important need for articulation in American education is the need for horizontal articulation. By horizontal articulation we mean, as has been indicated, the proper integration of the experiences of the individual in all aspects of his formal program, as well as in the experiences outside of the formal program. Teachers in large schools fail to a great extent to recognize the proper interrelations between fields of learning which they represent. There has been too much tendency in recent years to emphasize extreme specialization in teaching secondary-school pupils. It is highly important that specialists in the various fields be secured in our secondary schools, but it is even more important that these specialists shall understand fully the relation of their own specialties to other fields of specialization. Even more, it is important that they have the ability to plan programs of secondary education for youth so that they will be properly bal-

anced and integrated with a definite motivating purpose running through the entire program. There is developing here and there over the country an increased interest in this aspect of articulation. It should be noted also that articulation is not accomplished merely by planning pattern programs, because individuals vary to such an extent that programs must be individualized. Real articulation takes place gradually and constantly as the elements of the program are adapted to the characteristics and needs of the individual. This may take place in connection with his formal schoolwork, his informal school activities, and his life activities in the community. All these experiences must be known and understood by those responsible for directing the education of the individual, and the process of accomplishing this integration of the individual's experience must be fully understood and appreciated if articulation in American education is to succeed.

Agencies for Articulation. The agencies for the articulation of American education are only partially provided and poorly adapted to the performance of this function. Among the agencies that are most responsible for articulation are the teachers and other specialized personnel having responsibility for the guidance of the individual while in school. The teacher as an agency for articulation is seriously handicapped because of administrative practices in the assignment of the teacher's work. This is mainly true on the level of secondary education, and especially in the large city school. It is common practice for teachers to be assigned large classes for one term or, at most, for one year. It is very difficult under such circumstances for teachers to know individual pupils well enough to direct

their educational activities with any degree of satisfaction. This practice has led to the development of all manner of mechanical devices for the advising and guidance of students in secondary schools. The home room has been set up as a convenient unit for the handling of many of the routine problems of the individual pupil. The guidance department, under the administration of a guidance specialist generally known as a counselor, is given the responsibility of handling the more technical problems which arise during the career of the individual in the secondary school.

Coordinated school programs. On this general plan some schools have been able to work out the details of a coordinated program in which teachers and special guidance personnel may cooperate effectively. Providence, Rhode Island, has developed a very extensive system of guidance over a considerable period of time, and has been able to aid the student in solving his more important personal and social problems. The program in Providence requires a highly developed type of personnel for the work, with supervision by an important administrative officer of the school system. Most schools do not have the qualified personnel and have not been able to work out the details of a plan such as has been developed in Providence. In addition to the teacher and the special guidance personnel, other members of the school staff are in a position to promote the articulation of the program of education of the individual youth. One of the important professional agents is the supervisor of instruction who is generally the principal of the school. In many schools, even in large cities, the principal is chiefly responsible for the transfer of students from second-

ary school to higher institutions, or from the secondary school to community-life situations. The degree to which he makes possible a continuity of development of the individual, whether in higher institutions or in occupations in the community, depends upon his personality and professional qualifications. Within the school itself the general supervisor is largely responsible for the coordination of the total program of secondary education. He must see to it that the several departments of the school are in constant contact with each other, that they do not become segregated compartments tending to neglect the unifying process so necessary in the development of a proper balance for the individual.

The supervisor should also give attention to the development of closer relations between the elementary and the secondary school, for there should not be a definite break in the child's education at the end of the elementary-school period. If possible, it should continue in a natural sequence from the elementary school into the secondary school. In a similar way the principal is responsible for introducing the youth to the higher institution and for using his influence in the choice of a program of higher education that represents continuity in his development from the secondary school upward. This is a major problem in the education of those youths who continue their education above the secondary school and requires the cooperation of admissions and personnel officers in higher institutions. Very little has been done to meet the needs of young people at this point, and the result is many maladjustments of an intellectual and social character. The probability of failure in the higher institution

is high and the loss to the individual and to society is too great to be allowed to continue.

Cooperation between school and community. Articulation has been attained to some extent in the development of cooperation between the school and the local business, commercial, and industrial agencies in a cooperative program for young people planning to enter the commercial and industrial activities of the community. In order that such a program may be well balanced and economical, the coordinator has been introduced to guide the individual in his contacts with community agencies that are cooperating in his education. This type of articulation is highly important, especially at the present time when many adjustments are necessary because of technological changes. There is also a need for articulation because of the great variety of practice to be found in the various institutions participating in the educational program, for the youth who expects to enter the business office finds each firm with its own system of accounts and office procedures. It is quite impossible for him, with the instruction provided in the general commercial program of the school, to function effectively in the business offices in the larger communities without further training for the work after entering the occupation. The cooperative system of education tends to break down the barrier between school and business and to equip him better for making his contacts with the business community.

It is not sufficient to help young people to fit into occupations in their community. It is even more important that something be done to help them to assume their proper responsibilities in the general community life. The school and the community have

not been sufficiently concerned with the individual's fitness for participation in the life of the community, because it has been assumed that the formal education of the school, somehow or other, will transfer to the out-of-school activities and that the individual because of his general education is therefore a more efficient member of his community. The need for articulation lies in several directions and perhaps the most important is in the field of citizenship education. The school and community-life activities of youth should be interrelated so that when the individual leaves school he will merely shift the emphasis from participation in school activities to participation in life activities with which he has already become acquainted. The enthusiasm that young people show in school for rendering special service to the school community should not be allowed to wane but should receive increased stimulation when the individual leaves school to assume his responsibilities in the community. He should be interested in rendering service to the community and should have an opportunity to participate fully and freely in social and civic life.

Coordination of school and post-school life. It is quite clear that a plan for the articulation of the education of young people is vitally concerned with the close coordination of school and life activities. In fact no school program can be satisfactorily adapted to the needs of young people unless the school is kept constantly aware of the community demands upon young people, and of the activities in which they participate when out of school. There is also an increasing demand upon the school to maintain contact with the young people that it has educated. Most schools in America are failing to main-

tain and develop this contact with their former students, and as a result when young people leave American secondary schools they soon lose interest in the school as a community institution and frequently devote their time to activities that have little personal or social value to them.

Coordination between school and home. There is one special relationship between the school and the community which, for obvious reasons, requires special attention from the standpoint of proper articulation. We refer here to the articulation between home and school. In view of the fact that originally the home was responsible for a large measure of the education of young people, it is important that the school and the home be kept in constant contact with each other. Many of the problems of unadjustment of individuals have their origin in the home life of the individual. The school should have agencies or personnel for making home contacts and should provide means for parents to make constant and satisfactory contacts with the school. In some communities the home and school visitor is a professionally qualified member of the school staff, taking the place of the traditional attendance officer. The home and school association, an organization primarily for parents and teachers, has spread throughout the United States and has had great influence in the development of better relations between home and school, but this phase of articulation needs to be made more effective.

Program of Education. It should be made clear that the articulation of education cannot be accomplished through administrative arrangements that merely provide general educational programs. No matter how carefully the school program may be

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planned, and no matter how apparent the articulation of the parts of this program, the real test of articulation is the individual's curriculum or program of education. It frequently happens that carefully planned school programs do not meet the needs of individuals, because it is quite impossible to foresee the variations that may be necessary in the adaptation of a program to individual needs. Administration should provide the general facilities and services likely to be needed in the adaptation of a program to individual and community needs. The adaptation of the program to individual needs should be left to the teacher and other specialized personnel, who should work in close cooperation to develop the most effective program for each individual. This point of view is recognized in the development of individualized learning procedures, but much remains to be done in perfecting these procedures and in discovering new ways of helping the individual youth to solve his problems as they arise in school and in life. It is the sole purpose of the agencies for education in any community, whether they be schools or other community agencies, to take the youth as he is and to develop him into the kind of member of society who can be happy in his participation with other members of that society.

EVALUATING AMERICAN SECONDARY EDUCATION

Types of Evaluation. There are two kinds of evaluation with which a service agency such as a school or other social institution is concerned. One of these has to do with the evaluation of the elements of the agency itself in relation to the functions to be performed; the other is concerned with

the evaluation of the product which the agency turns out. The instruments and methods for these two types of evaluation are very different, although the results of one usually have either a direct or an indirect relation to the results of the other. The instrument employed in evaluating the institution is generally known as the survey, while the instrument employed in evaluating the product is generally known as the test or examination. On the basis of the two type procedures both schools and their learning products are being constantly evaluated.

Accrediting Secondary Schools. The practice of evaluating institutions arose in response to a demand that secondary schools be freed from the necessity of meeting the formal examination requirements set by the various colleges and universities during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Individual secondary schools found it extremely difficult to meet the great variation in such requirements and, as they frequently put it, to provide for the educational needs of all the pupils. Even after 1900, when the College Entrance Examination Board began to function, the number of pupils attending secondary school who would never attend college made the difficulty of meeting the College Board requirements more acute. Out of this demand for relief from the general examination requirement for entrance to college came an alternative plan of examining the school instead of the pupil. The method employed was essentially a survey of the school, the basis for the survey being a set of criteria or standards in terms of which each school was rated as to its general character and efficiency as an educational agency. Presumably any school that

rated high would, because of its excellence, produce a high quality of product; and this product could be selected for certain purposes, such as admission to college. In general this assumption is valid, provided it is not assumed that the product is uniformly excellent. It is at this point that accrediting of secondary schools as a substitute for examinations for entrance to college has met difficulties.

Within recent years the demand upon the secondary school to provide a broad and flexible educational program to meet the needs of an increasing proportion of the youth population has placed renewed emphasis upon the need for evaluating the school as a suitable social agency. The old standards or criteria are being replaced by more extensive and valid measures of the ability of the secondary school to meet the individual needs of youth and the legitimate demands of society for a sound program of secondary education. Instead of depending upon a limited category of mechanical standards, which in the abstract have questionable validity, the new procedure subjects each school to a careful scrutiny to determine the extent to which, with a stated philosophy of education and avowed objectives, it is providing a suitable program of education for its clientele. The procedures go still further in evaluating the staff and the facilities to discover the degree to which they are suitable and adequate for the program provided. As a final measure of the efficiency of the school the general procedure in administering the entire educational situation is rigorously checked and evaluated. This general procedure starts with the assumption that a good secondary school is one that functions to a high degree in serving the individual youth in his relationships with

his environment. This new approach recognizes the necessity for variability of secondary schools as to specific characteristics, which in every instance are determined by the uses to which they are put.

Educational Measurements. Much of the earlier criticism of the college entrance examinations and of examinations in general was directed at the apparent lack of validity of the traditional examination. Many who opposed the traditional examination found fault also with the method of institutional evaluation as a substitute. They began to experiment with other forms of tests and examinations with the result that the new-type achievement test, the test of mental ability (ability to do schoolwork), the aptitude test, tests of emotionalized outcomes such as fair-mindedness and literary appreciation, and other similar measuring instruments were devised and standardized. Perhaps the most important contribution of this movement was the development of statistical techniques for refining the measuring instrument. Once again the advocates of an evaluation process overlooked an essential consideration in their desire to be objectively scientific. They neglected to consider the relation of the evaluating instrument to the purposes in education. It was at this point that the early procedures in evaluating the secondary school as an institution broke down. In both processes there is need for recognition of the educational objectives which the learner, aided by the school, is striving to attain. Moreover, it is essential that the interpretation of the results of attainment in either case shall be in terms of both learner's goals and society's demands.

Interpretation of Evidence. The reformers in the field of measurement in secondary education either

294 AMERICAN SECONDARY EDUCATION failed to see or were not interested in seeing the necessity for developing the proper use of their results. This criticism is directed as much at those who were concerned with measuring institutions as at those concerned with measuring human traits. Having measured and classified an institution or a learning product, they were usually content to enter the result on the credit or debit side of the ledger as a final record. Problems in human relations, whether personal or institutional, do not as a rule solve themselves, and consequently leaders in education are now recognizing the necessity of interpreting the evidences secured through scientific methods of measurement. It is at this point that the practical educator, the principal, the teacher, the counselor, or other member of the school staff must consider the relative values of accumulated information. This information has value primarily for discovering, stimulating, and redirecting both institutional and individual development.

The evaluation of a school by a survey committee provides essential information not only for classifying a school but chiefly for initiating a program aimed at continuous improvement of the institution and its processes. The old program of standardization which has been in effect among regional associations for more than thirty years is rapidly changing to a program of stimulation to continuous growth. Moreover it is definitely recognized that stimulation must start with present ability and give direction to growth in terms of clearly defined objectives, suited to the needs of the youth and the demands of the society served by the school. The problem is one of guidance in institutional development.

If the results of tests and examinations are to have value to the school staff, they must not be interpreted solely in terms of norms derived from results secured under dissimilar conditions, such as obtain with different types of pupils, social backgrounds, objectives, learning, and teaching procedures, physical facilities, and administrative policies and procedures. The standardization of a test does not necessarily give it validity as a measure of attainment for any and every individual. Whatever the results secured from so-called objective measurements or from conventional examinations they have little value in and of themselves. Their value lies in their interpretation in terms of the learner's desires and needs in relation to the demands of his society. The uses to be made of such results are of great importance for directing learning and for guidance. The individual nature of learning and the complementary teaching processes, as well as the individual nature of guidance procedures, require that each pupil be treated as an individual. If each individual is to be handled according to his ability and his needs, it is essential that a continuous record of test results and other information shall be constantly available as bases for both individualized instruction and guidance. The cumulative record of such information is an essential feature of the record system of a secondary school.

CONSTANT REORGANIZATION IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIAL ORDER

Throughout our discussion of secondary education in American society we have recognized that the only social order that can hope to attain the ideals of democracy is a changing social order. Any other

concept would make it impossible for each individual to realize his best self and use his powers for the general social betterment. Under these conditions, it is obviously impossible for the educational leaders of the present to plan a program that will serve fully the needs of the future. Education must develop day by day in relation with the social forces which are constantly at work. There are at times sharp clashes between the agencies for education and the other agencies at work in the community. These clashes are due to a variety of causes, including the inability of educational leaders to understand the needs and demands of a community, the special interests of small minorities who desire to control the schools for their own selfish purposes, the frequent conflict between competing social agencies, the rise of emergencies such as those brought on by economic depressions, the sudden shift in demands of communities due to technological change, the sudden shifts in population due to industrial and social movements over which communities have no control, and other similar social and economic forces.

Because of this changing character of the American social order, the influence of tradition displays decreasing significance in the determination of the program for the education of youth. Traditions are rapidly outworn or outmoded, and the program of education cannot be a fixed and hallowed possession of the race as it has been in many primitive societies or in some of the more advanced societies of modern times. The content of the educational program has much less significance in a changing social order than in a more conservative and less dynamic one. It is necessary, however, that there be continuity of the program, and that a clear concept of

essential principles shall be attained and preserved. The young people of America need abilities which can be made effective in an environment constantly changing. Emphasis in secondary education should be placed upon the development of abilities to solve present and future problems, rather than upon a mastery of the solutions of past problems. The program of secondary education for American youth should be a dynamic program which stimulates constant attack on problems that arise in the environment of the individual. The method in education, if there is to be proper articulation with life, should be a method which may be transferred to the solution of life problems.

This means that the program for the education of youth in America shall be constantly changing with respect to definite goals. There will never be a time when secondary education in America can hope to attain a state of perfection. At times it will be more efficient and better adapted to the needs of American youth than at other times. It must be a program that is both empirical and experimental. It can never be thoroughly scientific, because solutions cannot be determined finally before they are tried out. This program will improve with practice, but in some instances that practice may be unwarranted and unsound. Such a program of secondary education will be the target of critics both conservative and progressive. It will never satisfy the individual who is searching for safety, and it will never fully satisfy the person who is always seeking adventure. It must satisfy as fully as possible the needs of a constantly changing youth in a constantly changing society.

CONCLUSIONS

The administration of secondary education in America is the outgrowth of three centuries of experience beginning with the simple provisions of colonial secondary education and developing to the tremendous proportions of modern American secondary education. Out of all this experience, the state has become the supreme unit for the administration of secondary education. The Federal government has become a participating unit in special matters, and the local unit has become the agent of the state for the administration of education in the local community. There has developed a definite recognition of certain types of agencies differentiated with respect to the performance of the functions of policy determination and the execution or administration of policies. Policy determination has been retained by the representatives of the people, while the execution of educational policy has been assigned to professionally qualified administrative agents.

The complexity of the problems requires considerable delegation of duties to specialists, the secondary-school principal serving chiefly as a general coordinator of all administrative activities. The democratic conception of American secondary education demands that the administration of the secondary school be considered a cooperative enterprise in which all members of the school community shall participate. Such cooperation may further be justified on the principle that every administrative activity performed shall be educational for the person performing the activity. Most of the plans for articulation in American secondary education have

been largely administrative in character. In recent years there has developed a consciousness of the impossibility of articulating the education of the individual through administrative devices. The emphasis has been shifted to the guidance and direction of the individual in his education, both in and out of school. Increased recognition is given to the importance of the contribution of the community to the education of the individual, and this in turn has raised new problems of articulation which have not yet been solved.

Secondary education may be evaluated in two ways: (1) by the process of evaluating the characteristics and functions of the institution and (2) by the process of measuring the product. The first method is essentially the method of the institutional survey, and the second is the method known as testing or examining. Both methods are valuable, provided all such evaluation is in terms of objectives previously determined. In order that the measures secured in any process of evaluation shall be useful, they should be interpreted only in terms of a cumulative record.

The problems of administration of secondary education are particularly difficult in America because of the democratic ideals which it has accepted. If these democratic ideals are to be followed, there is no hope for a permanent solution to any educational problem. The program of education must change with the changing social order, and with these changes new problems in administration are sure to arise.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Study the administrative organization of public secondary education in a selected state. Prepare a dia-

gram showing the various administrative relationships.

2. Why is the state concerned to the extent that school attendance is made compulsory to a given age?
3. How is school attendance administered in your state?
4. How is the program of secondary education determined?
5. How are the qualifications of teachers established? Who is responsible for the maintenance of standard qualifications?
6. How are standards for school buildings and equipment established and maintained?
7. What is the school code?
8. What is the relation of the state education office to the local education authority?
9. What is the relation of the state education authority to the United States Office of Education?
10. In what ways would it be desirable for the federal government to participate in public education?
11. How do you justify independent (nongovernmental) education?
12. What extra-legal or unofficial agencies affect American secondary education? How?

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